

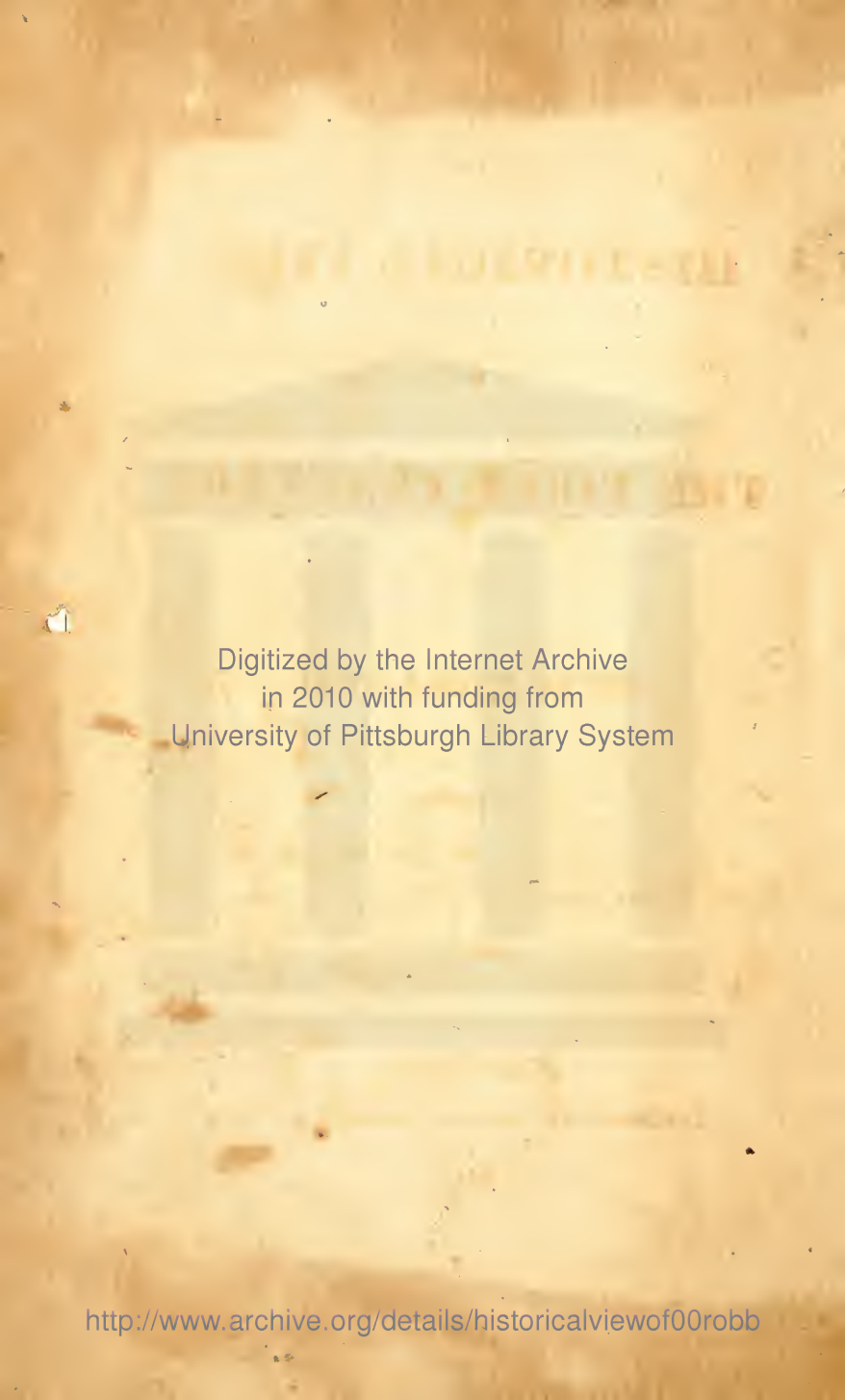
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AN
HISTORICAL VIEW
OF
THE FIRST PLANTERS
OF
NEW-ENGLAND.

BY THOMAS ROBBINS, A. M.
PASTOR OF THE FIRST CHURCH IN EAST-WINDSOR, CONN.

HARTFORD:
PUBLISHED BY PETER B. GLEASON AND CO.
.....
1815.

DISTRICT OF CONNECTICUT, SS.

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“ AN HISTORICAL VIEW OF THE FIRST PLANTERS OF NEW-
“ ENGLAND, BY THOMAS ROBBINS, A. M. PASTOR OF THE
“ FIRST CHURCH IN EAST-WINDSOR, CONN.”

In conformity to the Act of the Congress of the United States, entitled, “ An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned.”

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PREFACE.

THE following Historical Sketches were first written for "The Connecticut Evangelical Magazine," and published in that work in twenty successive Numbers. They were written at the desire of the Rev. Dr. STRONG, of Hartford, the Editor of the Magazine; and without any expectation that they would ever be presented to the public in any other form. After the completion of the work, the advice of a number of Gentlemen, whose opinions were most deserving of regard, induced the author to consent to its re-publication, in the present form.

As this History was written for a Religious publication, the Reader will not be disappointed to find a turn of composition, conformable to that design. The Religious sentiments and practices of the Fathers of New-England, having constituted an essential part of their character, and being ingrafted in all their Civil Institutions, become a very interesting portion of their history. This part of their character, has not been so fully presented to view by historians, whose design has been principally confined to political transactions, as many other things of much less value.

The pride of innovation, as well as irreligion and vice, has ever affected to ridicule the Christian character of the Founders of the New-England States. This practice has but one apology;

an Ignorance of the true character of those venerable Fathers. As Patriots and Statesmen, they will bear an honourable comparison with the renowned Sages and Heroes of the ancient Republics: as Christians, they are entitled to a distinguished rank with the Divines and Civilians of the Reformation. The principal sentiments and usages, which are now held by the New-England Churches, are derived from the original Founders of these churches. If, then, their Christian character can be brought into contempt, ours, of course, must fall. It is not to be wondered, therefore, that the sons of infidelity and vice manifest so great a zeal upon this subject, and are willing to make almost any sacrifice to bring a reproach upon the character of our Forefathers. The friends of righteousness have no occasion for any solicitude respecting them, any farther than to have them truly known to their posterity and the world. None of their descendants, who love the religion of the Prince of Peace, or who venerate that system of morals taught in the word of God, or who admire the most illustrious writers that have ever adorned the human character, will ever have a wish to disown their Ancestry.

Under an impression of these truths, which have appeared more and more clear from every additional attention to this subject, I have made an attempt to draw the character of several of the New-England Fathers. The work has not received all the attention, nor has it been extended to that length, which it would have had, if it had been originally intended for a permanent history. The history of the Colonies might have been more extended, and many other characters might have

been introduced in the *Biography*, perhaps, with equal profit and entertainment, with what has already been given. But a cursory *Historical View* comprized the whole of the design. The medium by which it has been presented to the public, a *Monthly Magazine*, could not well admit of a further prosecution of the subject.

The divisions of the work would have been, in some respects, different, had it been published entire. It was necessarily divided into *Numbers*; and that division I have thought best to retain, in the several *Sections*. Believing it to be most proper to have the work appear the same as it has already been published, it has no material alterations in matter or form. Having been desired to publish the history as it was, I did not feel authorized to write it anew, in which case it might, probably, have been improved; but have merely revised it, making a few corrections and verbal alterations. The *Chronological Table*, of some prominent events in *Ecclesiastical History*, has been added by desire.

In giving an account of the causes which induced the *Puritans* to separate from the *Church of England*, and influenced such a number of them to emigrate to *America*, we necessarily take notice of the arbitrary measures of the *English Hierarchy* at that day. In doing this, no reflection is intended on the present *Church of England*, which now possesses a very different character from that which it sustained previous to the *Revolution*. It now deserves great veneration, for its noble exertions in the cause of evangelical truth; and as an immoveable barrier to the torrent of infidelity. Still less will it be thought by the Candid Reader

that any unfriendly design is entertained towards the Episcopal Church in this country, which never had any share in those prelatical usurpations which are partially noticed in the succeeding Volume.....Still, however, it is our duty to vindicate the order of the Congregational Churches of New-England, which we believe to be established on a gospel foundation; and to be more fully acquainted with those truths and principles from which a satisfactory vindication can always be maintained. The existing order of our Churches is a precious Legacy inherited from our venerable Ancestors. In remembrance of their labours and prayers, the blessing of God has, abundantly rested upon them. Their posterity are bound not to suffer the precious inheritance to perish in their hands.

East-Windsor, January 2, 1815.

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HISTORICAL VIEW, &c.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF THE PURITANS FROM THEIR RISE TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PORTION OF THEM IN AMERICA.

SECTION I.

INTRODUCTION....RISE OF THE PURITANS IN THE CHURCH
OF ENGLAND, DURING THE REIGN OF QUEEN MARY.

Remember the days of old, consider the years of many generations: ask thy father, and he will shew thee; thy elders, and they will tell thee;—for the Lord's portion is his people: Jacob is the lot of his inheritance. He found him in a desert land, and in the waste howling wilderness: he led him about, he instructed him, he kept him as the apple of his eye.

To the people of New-England, few subjects can be more deserving of attention, than the character and history of their forefathers. Aside from the intrinsic importance of the subject, we can never be unmindful, that to them we are indebted for all those moral and civil institutions, which constitute the basis of our social happiness. We do no more than build upon their foundation. In reference to the enjoyment of social and public blessings, it could never be said more truly, than of the present people of New-England, *I sent you to reap that whereon ye*

bestowed no labour : other men laboured, and ye have entered into their labours. To the fortitude, to the labour, of our ancestors, we are indebted for the inheritance of these fruitful fields which were cleared by their toil and defended by their valour. From their wisdom and virtue, we have received a still more precious heritage, in those social institutions, civil, moral, and literary, which are the source of our undisturbed prosperity. From their piety, their faith, their prayers, have been transmitted to their descendants, the order, improvement, and purity of our churches, with all these ecclesiastical regulations and religious institutions, which now constitute the distinguishing ornament of this portion of our country.

To produce in the children a laudable desire of imitating the virtues of the fathers; to awaken a just sense of the worth of the privileges we enjoy; especially, to raise our gratitude to God, from whom all blessings come, is the design of a few Essays on the Character and Institutions of the Fathers of New-England. For this purpose it will be necessary to take an historical view of the Puritans, previous and subsequent to their settlement in America; and to add such remarks as may be necessary to the elucidation of the subject. The historical account will be taken, not from the writings of panegyrist, but from authentic documents, some of which are in very few hands. Authorities may be occasionally brought into view, but a constant reference will not be thought necessary.

It has been often said, and with great truth, that the first planting of New-England was for the sake of the undisturbed enjoyment of the privileges of the gospel of Christ. The testimony of one of the first English adventurers to America is thus recorded: "One main end of all these undertakings was to plant the gospel in these dark regions of America." To this an early historian of our country adds, "I am now to tell mankind, that as for one of these English plantations, [meaning New-England] this was not only a main end, but the *sole end* upon which it was erected." Our Fathers desired to serve the true God,

according to his own appointment. This they could not do in their own country without great molestation. In the western wilderness, therefore, they sought and found those privileges, which were denied them in the land of their nativity.

Among the first English Reformers, whose names will live in grateful remembrance in the latest annals of the church, there was a difference of sentiment with regard to the lengths of Reformation, to which it was expedient for them to proceed. Some were of opinion that they ought to take the word of God for their only guide, and, having broken off from the communion of the Church of Rome, endeavour to form their churches, exclusively, according to the model appointed by Christ and his apostles. Others thought it expedient to retain so much of the form and usages of the Church of Rome, as was not manifestly inconsistent with the holy Scriptures, and, in things termed *indifferent*, to make no material innovations. The latter opinion, finally prevailed, and, principally, for two reasons: One, that the minds of men might not be shocked by the greatness of the change, and so refuse to espouse the cause of the Reformation: The other, the indulgence of a hope, that a union might still be effected between the Catholic and the Reformed Churches. Each of these opinions could be supported by plausible and sound arguments; and, when we consider the state of things at the time, it is not to be wondered that the sentiment of those who contended for a partial Reformation finally prevailed. When we consider also, the danger of unfettering the minds of men by loosening the bonds of established institutions, we shall be very cautious in saying they did not pursue the wisest course. This opinion, however, which might have been correct in the age of Luther and Cranmer, was much abused in succeeding times, and has been used to bar all attempts at Reformation in the English Church, for a period of two centuries and an half. We cannot however withhold our admiration, nor our gratitude, to the gracious interposition of the great Head of the Church, that, in all

the moral darkness of the sixteenth century, with the authority of usages sanctioned by the prescription of ages, with the necessary aversion to the dominant usurpations of the Church of Rome, and the indignation which must arise at the discovery of her diabolical impostures, the Reformed Churches were established on such wise, scriptural, and excellent foundations. On the foundations laid by Luther, Calvin, Cranmer, and Knox, with their great coadjutors, whose souls are now with God, the greater part of Protestant Churches, in the enjoyment of the gracious influences of the Holy Spirit, rest to this day.—The difference of sentiment among their first Reformers, on the degrees of Reformation to which they should proceed, with a pertinacious adherence to the limits first prescribed, seem to have been the true cause of all the separations from the English Church.

Those who first appeared in this church as advocates for further Reformation, and for an alteration of their religious service, were denominated, by way of reproach, PURITANS. They were thus denominated by their opposers, in consequence of their exertions to effect a greater *purity* in religious worship and discipline, and a greater *purity* in manners.

The Puritans had their rise in the reign of Queen Mary, A. D. 1555, among the numerous exiles, who fled for refuge to the protestant governments on the continent, from the persecutions of that bigoted princess. A number of these pious exiles fixed their residence in the town of Frankfort, in Germany. Being now subject to no Ecclesiastical authority but the word of God, they were at liberty to examine all those religious doctrines and practices, in which they had been instructed, and to compare them with the only standard of truth. On mature reflection, the small congregation at Frankfort became satisfied that some things contained in the Liturgy of the English Church, which had been established in the preceding reign by the good Prince Edward VI, with several of their ceremonies and practices, were unauthorized by the holy Scriptures,

were of no advantage to the practice of piety, and were burdensome services in the duties of religion. They considered them also, to be the relics of Popery, which they felt bound to oppose in all its forms. They, therefore, by universal consent, adopted the doctrinal sentiments of the Church of England, as agreeable to the holy Scriptures, but in their modes of religious worship and divine ordinances, they resolved to dispense with several things appointed in the Liturgy, and enjoined in the ceremonials of that Church.

In the establishment of the English Reformed Church, under the auspices of King Edward, the Doctrines of Faith contained in their Articles were taken, principally, from the Confession of Faith of the Church of Geneva, drawn by the great Calvin. But the Ecclesiastical hierarchy, with the greater part of the ceremonies and forms of worship prescribed by the Romish ritual, still remained. At least, these things were as much retained as was thought could be consistent with the disavowal of the supremacy of the hierarchy of Rome.

The exiles at Frankfort, in the formation of their church, discarded, alike, the doctrines and the rites of the Romish Church, and adopted the Church of Geneva as their model, in the form of church government, in modes of religious worship, and in doctrines of faith. Of all the reformed churches, they esteemed that of Geneva, in all these respects, as the most conformable to the divine standard. Thus, while their articles of faith were conformable to those of the Church of England, their form of church government, and their modes of religious worship and administration of ordinances were materially different.

The religious congregation at Frankfort having become regularly organized, they sent to their brethren in exile, in various parts, inviting them to come and join with them in the service of their Lord, and in the enjoyment of those religious privileges, and that tranquillity which were denied them in the land of their nativity. This

invitation brought many of their brethren to Frankfort. Several English Divines, residing at Strasburgh, having heard of the innovations in their religious establishment, made by the congregation at Frankfort, remonstrated against any deviations from their former practices, and refused to afford them their Christian fellowship, unless these innovations were relinquished. They insisted that prayers should be read, and that the ordinances should be administered and all religious services performed, in conformity to the prescriptions of the Liturgy. The church at Frankfort consulted the church at Geneva, and having obtained their approbation of their existing order, communicated by their revered Calvin, they determined to pursue the course which they had adopted. But in consequence of a large accession to their number, the advocates of the Liturgy, at length, prevailed, though not without some disturbance, and the rites of the Church of England were adopted. This produced a separation, and the most of the first members of the congregation removed to Geneva. Many efforts were made, by their illustrious friends in the foreign churches, as well as by the best men among the English exiles, to heal this division; but to little effect. The principles of the separation affected the greater part of those who had fled from the persecutions of England, and they naturally embraced those differences of sentiment on the subject of Reformation, which had previously existed. Still, it does not appear that these differences produced a breach of Christian charity; nor did it prevent their united and daily supplications to the throne of Almighty Grace, for the removal of the dark cloud which hung over their beloved country, that the blood of their brethren might cease to flow at the stakes of martyrdom, that their country might be purified by her trials, and that the church of God might there find a resting place for ages to come.

By the death of Queen Mary, in the year 1558, the papal persecutions ceased in England, and the way was open for the unfortunate exiles to return to their native land.

SECTION II.

HISTORY OF THE PURITANS DURING THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH....THEIR SEPARATION FROM THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH.

THE reign of Queen Elizabeth was an eventful period in the history of the Puritans. The accession of this great Princess to the throne of England, diffused the highest joy among all her protestant subjects, and added new vigour to the cause of the Reformers through Christendom. While the plains of Smithfield had scarce ceased to smoke with the fires of martyrdom, a princess, whose former character had inspired the most animating hopes, who was believed to be firmly attached to the protestant religion, appeared at the head of the realm, the lawful possessor of the sceptre. With the exception of a few of the most servile devotees of the papacy, all orders of men rejoiced that the government of the nation was now to be administered by a sovereign, possessing vigour of mind, firmness of character, and an unalterable attachment to the true interests of her own country. And whatever might have been their hopes, in no prince, were such anticipations ever more fully realized. But while the reign of Queen Elizabeth was distinguished with as able an administration, with as wise counsels, as ever managed the government of England, by an unaccountable error in her policy, the Puritans, than whom no class of her subjects were more deserving of royal favour, were oppressed and abused during the whole period of her government. During a reign of forty-five years, which was equally steady in its errors and its wisdom, the Puritans were incessantly harassed with oppressive laws, with the tyranny of the prelates, with the resentment of the court, and, so far as it could be excited, with the odium of the populace. These measures compelled the Puritans, after a long endurance of oppression, with great reluctance, to separate from that

Church, in whose bosom they had been born and spent their lives, in whose communion they hoped to die, and to commit their cause to the holy protection of God their Saviour.

After an unfortunate reign of five years, Queen Mary died in the year 1558, and was succeeded in the government of the kingdom by her half-sister, Elizabeth. On the news of the peaceable accession of Elizabeth, the English exiles on the continent, who had fled from the persecutions of her bigoted predecessor, generally, determined to return to their native country. The rise of the Puritans at Frankfort, and Geneva, with the dissensions which arose in consequence, were briefly stated in the last section. As they were preparing for their return, letters of condescension and mutual forgiveness passed between the different parties, and there was every appearance of a cordial reconciliation. They determined to return to their own country, and unite their efforts to banish all the institutions of Popery, and to establish the English Church on the true foundation of the Gospel of Christ. And there is still reason to believe, had the Divines been properly supported by the government, though there might have been some minor differences of sentiment, the English Church would have received the best constitution which the light of that day could have produced, which would have prevented that fatal separation, which finally issued in the overthrow of the monarchy.

The different sentiments which had been imbibed by the exiles, on the subject of ecclesiastical discipline, and divine worship, during their residence among the foreign Reformed churches, were brought with them on their return to England. As the ferment of the public mind, occasioned by the death of the late princess and the accession of the present, began to subside, and the banished sufferers for the cause of truth, were returning to the embraces of their friends, it soon appeared that the sentiments of those who were for disburdening the services of religion from all the impositions of Popery, were generally popu-

lar. In some churches the service-book of King Edward was restored, and the popular preachers addressed the people without reserve, before any law had been passed to set aside the old religion, which had been established in the late reign, by which all worship and preaching by Protestants had been prohibited. The forwardness of the Reformers to improve the liberty which they now expected to enjoy, was not pleasing to the government; and a public proclamation was issued, by which, the most of those exercises were prohibited, till the meeting of Parliament. At the first meeting of the Parliament, the laws of the late reign for the establishment of the Catholic religion were repealed. But the nation soon learned that while the government were equally ready with the people to take the supremacy of the church from Rome, the Queen was determined to hold and exercise it herself.

At an early period of the session, the Parliament passed an Act of Supremacy, by which the supreme power of all matters Ecclesiastical and Spiritual was vested in the Crown. By this Act, the Queen became the supreme head and governor of the church, through the realm, as Henry VIII. and Edward VI. had been before her. "By this Act," says Mr. Hume,* "the Crown might repress all heresies, might establish or repeal all canons, might alter every point of discipline, and might ordain or abolish any religious rite or ceremony.—In order to exercise this authority, the Queen, by a clause of the Act, was empowered to name commissioners, either laymen or clergymen, as she should think proper; and on this clause was afterwards founded the Court of Ecclesiastical Commission; which assumed large discretionary, not to say arbitrary powers, totally incompatible with any exact boundaries in the constitution. Their proceedings indeed, were only consistent with absolute monarchy; but were entirely

* I choose to refer to the authority of Mr. Hume, when it can be done with convenience, in consideration of his high standing as an historian, and as it is well known that he had no partiality for the Puritans.

suitable to the genius of the Act on which they were established ; an Act that at once gave the Crown alone all the power which had formerly been claimed by the Popes." By a clause of this Act, all persons in any public employment, civil or ecclesiastical, were required to take an oath in recognition of the Queen's supremacy as set forth in the statute. By virtue of the power thus conferred, the Queen named her commissioners for the cognizance of all ecclesiastical causes, which constituted the court of High-Commission, from which proceeded the greater part of the sufferings of the Puritans in this and the two succeeding reigns.

Another important Act was passed by the first Parliament under Queen Elizabeth, commonly called the Act of Uniformity. The object of this act was to establish an uniformity in religion, in doctrine and ceremonies, through the realm. By this statute, the Liturgy of King Edward, with a few alterations, was re-established, and all the respective rites, ceremonies, holidays, forms, and habits of the church were appointed, and thus established by law. In the second year of the reign of King Edward, 1548, a Book of Common Prayer and modes of worship for the church was composed and established by authority. This was allowed, at the time, to be imperfect. In the last year of his reign, this Liturgy was revised, and considerably altered and improved, with an expectation of further improvements, according to the progress of public sentiment in the light of the Reformation. In the preface of one of the service books, it was observed, "that they had gone as far as they could in reforming the church, considering the times they lived in, and hoped they that came after would, as they might, do more." "King Edward in his Diary laments, that he could not restore the primitive discipline according to his heart's desire."* It appears, on good evidence, that the English Reformers of King Edward's time, with the great Cranmer at their head,

* Neal's History of the Puritans.

were not fully satisfied with the Liturgy, and the lengths of Reformation, generally, to which they advanced ; expecting to make still greater improvements. By the untimely death of that hopeful prince, Divine Providence cut off all their prospects. The primitive church used no Liturgies, nor is there any account of their introduction till late in the fourth century. Nor was there then, or ever after, any general uniformity of the Liturgies in use. It seems many of the English Reformers contemplated the establishment of their church agreeably to the practices and sentiments of primitive times. According to which, they supposed there were but two orders of the Clergy, that forms of prayer, though not essentially wrong, were unnecessary ; that there should be no prescribed modes of divine service, or appointed habits for public ministrations.

In the revisal of the Liturgy, there were some alterations in the last Liturgy of King Edward, in favour of the one established in the second year of his reign. Some few things which were offensive to *papists* were expunged, but no alterations in favour of those who wished for further improvements could be obtained. The doctrines of faith, now reduced from forty-two Articles to thirty-nine, about which there appears to have been no difference of sentiment, remained unaltered. “ And thus the book was presented to the two Houses and passed into a law, being hardly equal to that which was set out by King Edward, and confirmed by Parliament in the fifth year of his reign. For whereas in that Liturgy all the garments were laid aside except the surplice, the Queen now returned to King Edward’s book, wherein copes and other garments were ordered to be used.”* In reference to the Act of Uniformity, Mr. Hume observes, “ The protestants ventured on the last and most important step, and brought into Parliament a bill for abolishing the mass, and re-establishing the Liturgy of King Edward. Penalties were

* Neal.

enacted, as well against those who departed from this mode of worship, as against those who absented themselves from the church and the sacraments.”* A few remarks of another writer, of great authority, may be here introduced. “When it was proposed, under the reign of Edward VI. to give a fixed and stable form to the doctrine and discipline of the church, Geneva was acknowledged as a sister-church; and the theological system there established by Calvin, was adopted, and rendered the public rule of faith in England. This, however, was done without any change of the form of episcopal government, which had already taken place, and was entirely different from that of Geneva; nor was this step attended with any alteration of several religious rites and ceremonies, which were looked upon as superstitious by the greatest part of the Reformed.”† The act of Uniformity, rigorously enforced, was the fatal Rock on which the English church foundered, and was the cause of the lasting dissention between Conformists and Non-conformists.

There were two principal causes which, finally, produced the separation of the Puritans from the established church. One was, the Queen being tenacious of the supremacy, was also peculiarly fond of the pomp and splendour of the Popish service. The ceremonies of the Romish worship, their decorations, their vestments, “glaring in gems and gay in woven gold,” were not less grateful to her feelings, than many of the civil and religious sentiments of the Catholics, were congenial to her own. Thus, notwithstanding the whole body of the papists were her determined enemies during the whole of her reign, she ever treated them with uncommon lenity, and inclined to lessen rather than widen the breach between the English and the Catholic churches. The Puritans viewed the Romish church as Anti-christ, and felt themselves called in the providence of God to *come out of her*, entirely, and to *be not partakers of her sins*. “The Queen’s commission-

* History of England, Elizabeth, Chap. I.

† Mosheim’s Ecclesiastical History, Cent. xvi. chap. II.

ers ventured to assert, that the church of Rome was a *true church*. This was a point, which the English bishops thought it absolutely necessary to maintain. But the *Puritans* entertained very different notions of this matter; they considered the Romish hierarchy as a system of political and spiritual tyranny, that had justly forfeited the title and privileges of a true church; they looked upon its pontiff as *Anti-christ*, and its discipline as vain, superstitious, idolatrous, and diametrically opposite to the injunctions of the gospel.*—The other cause of the separation was, the enforcing by the arm of authority such things, consisting principally in modes and forms, as were confessed by one party to be unessential, and by the other believed to be, at least in their effects, unscriptural and wrong.

The first Primate of England, appointed by Queen Elizabeth, was Archbishop Parker. The Archbishop of Canterbury was always at the head of the court of High-Commission. Archbishop Parker was a man of violent principles, a zealous advocate of prerogative, and a great stickler for uniformity. Naturally averse to the sentiments and manners of the Puritans, he was a proper instrument for the execution of the laws and the royal mandates that were made against them. The difference of sentiment, already noticed, between the Queen and the Puritans, must necessarily produce a degree of disaffection towards them, in the mind of their sovereign. Under these circumstances, it is easy to perceive that the court of High-Commission, under the presidency of Archbishop Parker would be sufficiently ready to execute the laws against Non-conformists, and would experience no want of countenance from the Crown. It was soon found that many of the stricter characters in the church, who now began to be denominated *Puritans*, neglected a compliance with the act of Uniformity, in several particulars. Several were summoned before the High-Commission, and there questioned, reproved, threatened, and commanded to comply

*Mosheim.

with the ceremonies appointed by law. The Puritans uniformly pleaded a conscientious refusal ; they declared their sincerest belief that a compliance would be a violation of their duty to God, and begged to be left unmolested, while they did not disturb the public peace. The ecclesiastical court would make no concession, nor give any allowance to Non-conformists. Accordingly a large number of ministers, many of whom were among the most learned, pious, and popular preachers in the nation, were suspended from their ministerial functions, and subjected to such penalties as the court thought fit to impose. Informers were encouraged to make presentments, and very few that were presented escaped punishment. The severities of the High-Commission, abetted by the Crown, constantly increased. And though there was a very great want of preachers, in most parts of the country, and many of those who were admitted to orders were in all respects unqualified for the sacred office, many pious and laborious ministers were suspended and deprived, every year, for not conforming to the prescribed ceremonies. Many were subjected to fines and costs which reduced them to poverty. Many were separated from their families, and endured long confinements in the common prisons. Others were compelled to fly to Scotland and to foreign countries, where they might enjoy the privilege of preaching the gospel of Christ, and by that means, obtain their bread. Many of the deprived ministers, being excluded from the churches, preached in their own houses, or in any convenient place that might be found, where they might assemble unmolested, with those who hungered for the bread of life. The venerable Coverdale, one of the worthiest divines in the nation, who with the celebrated martyr, John Rogers, and William Tyndal, made the first translation of the whole Bible into English, had been indulged a place in a small parish in London, though he did not use the habits which were prescribed for ministers. Being removed from this place for non-conformity, the people " were obliged to send to his house on Saturdays, to know where they might

hear him the next day. The government took umbrage at this, insomuch that the good old man was obliged to tell his friends, that he durst not inform them any more of his preaching for fear of offending his superiors.* A little after this, at the age of eighty-one, he was removed from his afflictions, and rested with the people of God. John Fox, the well known historian of the English martyrdoms, as he scrupled to comply with the clerical habits, could obtain no preferment in the church, though, on account of his eminent services, no divine in England was in higher esteem, but was obliged to subsist on a small living at Sarum; and even this, he held not without considerable molestation. That he might make thorough work with the non-conforming clergy, Archbishop Parker called in all licenses within his Archiepiscopal district, and directed all preachers to take out new licenses, which, of course, were given to none who neglected to comply with the prescribed ceremonies.

While the Crown and the prelates, united their efforts in pressing conformity, it is doubtful whether their measures had the concurrence of the majority of the nation. No prince in England was ever more popular, and, probably, no one ever had greater influence than Queen Elizabeth. Her religious sentiments were well known, her power was almost unlimited, of course, very little opposition to these measures was to be expected from Parliament. In the second year of her reign, the subject of religion was debated by the national convocation of the clergy. In the doctrines contained in the thirty-nine Articles, there was a general agreement. When the rites and ceremonies of the church came under consideration, there were various motions for alterations. At length several propositions were introduced in convocation, for alterations in the ceremonies of the church, which embraced the principal subjects of difference between the Prelates and the Puritans. After long debate, on taking the voices, it was found that

*Neal.

fifty-eight were in favour of the propositions, and fifty-nine were against them. So nearly were the parties balanced, notwithstanding the well known sentiments of the Crown. From the great aversion to Popery, which had been imbibed by the people, on account of the cruelties of the late reign, popular sentiment seems to have been much against the controverted ceremonies, as they were generally, the relics of the Romish establishment.—With the two Universities, the court of High-Commission met with no small difficulty in enforcing conformity. The University of Cambridge was a constant sanctuary of the Puritans, and produced many preachers of great eminence, who were the steady opposers of all prelatical usurpations. In the University of Oxford, there were also many persons of distinction who favoured the sentiments of the Puritans. It was not without much labour and difficulty, that the Universities were reduced to tolerable conformity.—Nor was the Puritan cause destitute of powerful interests at court. Several of the first characters in the administration favoured those sentiments. But all this weight of influence could never move the inflexible purpose of the Queen. “There was another set of opinions,” says Mr. Hume, “adopted by these innovators, which rendered them in a peculiar manner the object of Elizabeth’s aversion. The principles of civil liberty, which, during some reigns, had been little avowed in the nation, and which were totally incompatible with the present exorbitant prerogative, had been strongly adopted by this new sect. Scarcely any sovereign before Elizabeth, and none after her, carried higher, both in speculation and practice, the authority of the Crown; and the Puritans (so these sectarians were called on account of their pretending to a superior purity of worship and discipline,) could not recommend themselves worse to her favour, than by inculcating the doctrine of resisting and restraining princes. From all these motives, the Queen neglected no opportunity of depressing those zealous innovators; and while they were secretly countenanced by some of her most favoured min-

isters, Cecil, Leicester, Knolles, Bedford, Walsingham, she never was to the end of her life reconciled to their principles and practices." The Queen had the support of all the zealous advocates of prerogative, of those who secretly favoured the catholic interest, of such as would render religion a creature of state, and of those who preferred the devices of human invention to the purity of the gospel. In the execution of her purposes, the most of the prelates afforded their cordial co-operation. Attired in the gaudy decorations of Rome, the church appeared more pleasing to the Queen, than when arrayed *in the simplicity that is in Christ*. It is the opinion of most historians that had it not been for the persevering remonstrances of her secretary Cecil, she would have enjoined celibacy on her clergy. The sufferings of the deprived clergy, in their families, never excited her compassion, or produced any concessions in their favour.

After long exertions under the most painful discouragements ; after enduring accumulated and increasing sufferings ; finding every effort which had been made wholly abortive ; seeing no prospect of a Reformation of the church in conformity to their wishes, a number of the Puritans, in the year 1566, after solemn consultation and prayer, looking to heaven for divine guidance, resolved "*to break off from the public churches and to assemble, as they had opportunity, in private houses or elsewhere, to worship God in a manner that might not offend against the light of their consciences.*"—To this Mr. Neal adds, "Had the use of habits and a few ceremonies been left discretionary, both ministers and people had been easy ; but *it was the compelling these things by law*, (as they told the Archbishop,) *that made them separate.*"

We will now mention the particular grounds of this separation. The Puritans generally disliked the Hierarchy of the English Church. They believed the scriptural mode of church government was Presbyterian. As they disliked Episcopal government, still less did they approve of the numerous offices and various degrees of dignity

which existed in the established church. They complained of the power of spiritual courts, of the want of proper discipline in the church, and of the numerous festivals which were enjoined. They did not approve a confinement to forms of prayer, and several things in the services of the Liturgy, especially in the burial and marriage services, they maintained to be particularly exceptionable. Had they been indulged with some discretionary liberty, it is probable that, for these things they would not have separated from the church. The rites and ceremonies, which under existing circumstances, the Puritans supposed to be wrong, which were acknowledged by the imposers to be indifferent, being enforced under the pains and penalties of law, constituted the breaking point. The principal of these were, 1. The sign of the cross in baptism. 2. The use of godfathers and godmothers, to the exclusion of parents, in the dedication of children. 3. The confirmation of children. 4. Kneeling at the sacrament of the Lord's supper. 5. Bowing at the name of Jesus.—6. The ring in marriage.—7. Wearing the surplice and other appointed vestments in public ministrations. The Puritans contended that the most of these rites were the appendages of Popery, and as such had been used for the purposes of superstition and idolatry ; that their use was countenancing those corruptions, and therefore criminal. They referred to the case of the Brazen Serpent which was set up by Moses. Being abused to idolatrous purposes in the times of Hezekiah, that good king caused it to be destroyed. All these institutions of the church, the Puritans contended were unauthorized by Scripture, that some of them were clearly inconsistent with the divine word, and a manifest violation of the ordinances of God. Their adversaries maintained that these ordinances were merely not unscriptural, that the church, by the national sovereign as head of the church, had a right to ordain such institutions, and, being thus appointed, it was the solemn duty of all to render obedience.

It does not appear that, at this time, the true principles of religious liberty were understood by either party. Both parties maintained that the national church had a right to ordain articles of faith, and appoint the general modes of ecclesiastical discipline and divine worship. The Puritans contended that this power belonged to ecclesiastical Conventions and Synods; their opponents maintained that the right was vested in the civil government. The Puritans held that in things indifferent, liberty of conscience should be allowed. The others believed that these things ought to be regulated by public appointment. Both parties would have the aid of the civil power to enforce their ecclesiastical regulations.

Archbishop Parker died in the year 1575. He was succeeded in the see of Canterbury by Archbishop Grindal. Unlike his predecessor, he was a man of moderate temper, of a charitable disposition, and by many supposed to be, secretly a favourer of the Puritans. During his primacy, the laws against non-conformity were executed with much less rigour than in the preceding years. On account of this lenity he incurred the displeasure of the Queen, and was for some time, sequestered from his episcopate, till he made his submission. Still, the Puritans, in a greater or less degree, were constantly oppressed.

Dr. Grindal died in 1583, and was succeeded by Archbishop Whitgift, a man of very different character. His temper, naturally severe, and inclined to arbitrary principles, had been highly excited against the Puritans, by a long controversy which had been carried on in writing between him and Mr. Cartwright, the great champion of the Puritans, in which Dr. Whitgift had no advantage of his antagonist, in learning or argument. He was now prepared to use other means to produce conformity. In his elevated station he could so far forget the dictates of ingenuousness, as to persecute Mr. Cartwright, so that he was obliged to fly beyond sea for safety.

It was soon perceived that in the hands of Archbishop Whitgift the whole rigour of the laws would be executed

against the Non-conformists. At his request, the High-Commission court was newly organized by the Queen, with more extensive and more arbitrary powers than it had previously possessed. Of this court, at this time, Mr. Hume observes, "The jurisdiction of the court extended over the whole kingdom, and over all orders of men; and every circumstance of its authority, and all its methods of proceeding, were contrary to the clearest principles of natural equity. They were directed to make enquiry, not only by the legal means of juries and witnesses, but by all other means and ways which they could devise. And the punishments which they might inflict, were according to their wisdom, conscience and discretion. In a word, this court was a real *inquisition*; attended with all the iniquities as well as cruelties inseparable from that tribunal." While Archbishop Whitgift presided in this court, it seldom neglected to exercise its powers. In his first visitation of his archiepiscopal district, the Archbishop caused two hundred and thirty-three ministers to be suspended from their ministerial functions, for not subscribing certain articles of conformity which he prescribed. The non-conforming clergy were summoned before the High-Commission, in great numbers, and were suspended, deprived, fined, and imprisoned. A great number of churches were shut up; thousands were hungering for gospel instruction; according to a statement made in Parliament, there were not more than 3000 licensed preachers to supply 9000 parishes. The numerous suspensions of the clergy, with the severe sufferings of many most worthy men, some of whom died in prison, and others under the hard pressure of their afflictions, together with the high-handed proceedings of the ecclesiastical courts, produced loud complaints in the nation, which at length reached the ears of Parliament and the Queen's Council. Several members of the administration endeavoured to soften the Archbishop in favour of some of the deprived ministers. But, confident of the secret approbation of the Queen, he was inflexible. Various and repeated attempts were made in

Parliament, to make some further progress in the reformation of religion; to modify the laws in favour of conscientious Non-conformists; to reduce the powers of the court of High-Commission, or at least to make some provision for the supply of the destitute people with a preached gospel. Several bills for these purposes were introduced in the Commons, enforced by the most moving petitions, and some of them passed that house. The Queen firmly resisted all these attempts. She informed the Commons that the management of the interests of religion belonged to herself; that upon this subject her mind was fixed; that she would suffer no innovations; that in these transactions the Commons had transgressed their proper bounds; that they deserved a severe reprimand; and she ordered the Speaker to suffer no more bills of that nature to be read before the house. Some of the members for their bold speeches on these bills, were committed to the Tower. Petitions of various kinds, supported by the best authority, were presented to Parliament, to the Queen's Council, to the Archbishop, but they were of no avail. The press was restrained, no books were allowed to be published, under severe penalties, without a license from the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Bishop of London.

The Puritans held meetings for preaching and the administration of the sacraments, and religious worship, in private places, wherever they could avoid public notice. Some of these meetings were called *Prophesyings*, much like our conferences. Archbishop Grindal incurred the displeasure of his Mistress for not putting a stop to these prophesyings. Under Archbishop Whitgift, they were all suppressed, wherever they could be found.

In the early part of this reign, the observation of the Sabbath was greatly neglected. About the year 1585, the Parliament passed a bill *for the better and more reverent observation of the Sabbath*. This was rejected by the Queen. But "the religious observation of the Sabbath grew into esteem with all sober persons, and after a few

years became the distinguishing mark of a *Puritan*.”* Towards the close of Elizabeth’s reign, the doctrine of the morality of the Sabbath was publicly maintained. “All the *Puritans* fell in with this doctrine, and distinguished themselves by spending that part of sacred time in public, family, and private acts of devotion. But the governing clergy exclaimed against it, as a restraint of Christian liberty ; as putting an unequal lustre on the *Sunday*, and tending to eclipse the authority of the church in appointing *other festivals*.”† During the reign of Popery, the Sabbath had been reduced to a level with their superstitious festivals.

At the time of the first separation of the Puritans from the established church, there appears to have been no difference of sentiment on the subject of doctrines. In the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth, the doctrines of Arminius were broached and began to prevail. Some of the Episcopal divines embraced those sentiments, and would insinuate that they were consistent with their Articles of faith. Says Mr. Neal, “All the Puritans to a man maintained the Articles of the church to be Calvinistical, and inconsistent with any other interpretation, and so did far the greatest number of the conforming clergy ; but as the new explications of Arminius grew into repute, the Calvinists were reckoned old-fashioned divines, and at length branded with the character of DOCTRINAL PURITANS.

The measures of severity with which they were oppressed, do not appear to have diminished the number of the Puritans. Though they constantly endured various kinds of suffering, they were stedfast in the maintenance of truth, committing their cause to God. They established some ecclesiastical regulations among themselves, as far as their depressed state would permit, principally on the model of the church of Geneva, which had been the model of the church of Scotland. The suspensions and deprivations of this long reign are said to have amounted

*Neal.

†Neal.

to several thousands. Of the ministers who were thus deprived of their public office, some fled into other countries, and some betook themselves to other employments, many of them continued to preach the gospel whenever they could have opportunity, and to testify against the errors and corruptions of the times. The greater part of them were reduced to poverty, *and wandered about, destitute, afflicted, tormented.*

SECTION III.

HISTORY OF THE PURITANS DURING THE FORMER PART OF THE REIGN OF JAMES I....SETTLEMENT OF A PORTION OF THEM IN HOLLAND....REMOVAL OF A PART OF MR. ROBINSON'S CONGREGATION TO AMERICA....SETTLEMENT OF PLYMOUTH.

THE accession of King James I. to the throne of England, in the year 1603, inspired the Puritans with hopes that their cause which had long been severely oppressed, would now experience the royal favour. Bred from infancy in the bosom of the Church of Scotland; ever professing the highest veneration for the religion of his country; having given repeated testimonies of his strong attachment to its respective institutions, it was generally believed that, under his government, the usurpations of prelacy would be restrained, and the interests of the Puritans be rescued from oppression. The least that was expected, was that the laws enacted against Non-conformity in the late reign, if not abrogated, would be abated in their rigour. The Presbyterian churches in England had every reason to promise themselves the same royal protection which was experienced by their sister churches in Scotland.

After the King had become quietly seated on the English throne, his conduct towards his English subjects disappointed the expectations of all men. His Presbyterian

principles of which he had often made such solemn professions, were now wholly laid aside, and no English monarch has ever professed a stronger attachment to Episcopacy, or a greater aversion to all the sentiments of the Puritans. Though destitute of that vigour of mind which was necessary for the execution of his projects, no prince of the Stewart line carried higher the pretensions of the prerogative, both in civil and ecclesiastical authority. Accordingly, he ever made constant exertions to favour the claims and strengthen the power of the prelates, and to reduce all Non-conformists to a strict compliance with the canons of the church.

While the King was on his journey from Scotland to London, to take possession of the government, a Petition was presented him, supported by a great number of signatures, praying for the reformation of several abuses prevailing in the church, explicitly pointed out in the petition. On this subject Mr. Hume observes, "Though the severities of Elizabeth towards the Catholics had much weakened that party, whose genius was opposite to the prevailing spirit of the nation: like severities had had so little influence on the Puritans who were encouraged by that spirit, that no less than seven hundred and fifty clergymen of that party signed a petition to the King on his accession; and many more seemed willing to adhere to it." From these remarks of the historian it is observable, that the same severities had been exercised under Elizabeth against the Puritans as against the Papists; that, still, a great number of ministers were advocates of their sentiments; and that "the prevailing spirit of the nation" was in their favour.

In consequence of this Petition, the King appointed a public conference to be held at Hampton-Court, declared in his proclamation, to be "for the determining things pretended to be amiss in the church." In this conference the King presided, attended by his privy counsellors; and the parties were nine bishops and a number of dignitaries of the church in behalf of the establishment, and four min-

isters on the part of the Puritans. The Puritans presented their request for a reformation of several things in the present order of the church, and were about to show that those things to which they excepted were contrary to the word of God. They were often interrupted by the Archbishop, and treated with contumelious language. In many instances the King acted rather the disputant than the moderator, and attempted to overbear the Puritan divines by assertions and authority. This conference, in which no opportunity of fair argument was allowed the Puritans, issued in a triumph of prelacy; not a triumph of reason and truth, but a triumph of arrogance and power. The King ordered, with the consent of the Bishops, a few trifling alterations or explanations in the Book of Common Prayer, but he would suffer no invasion of the claims of Episcopacy, or of the forms and ceremonies of divine worship. One of the Puritan divines, Mr. Chadderton, "fell on his knees, and humbly prayed, that the surplice and cross might not be urged on some godly ministers in Lancashire; and Mr. Knewstubs desired the same favour for some Suffolk ministers." The King replied, "We have taken pains here to conclude in a resolution for uniformity, and you will undo all by preferring the credit of a few private men to the peace of the church: this is the Scots way, but I will have none of this arguing, therefore let them conform, and that quickly too, or they shall hear of it; the Bishops will give them some time, but if any are of an obstinate and turbulent spirit, I will have them enforced to conformity."*—At this conference, the Puritan divines prayed that there might be a new Catechism, and a new translation of the Bible: to which, under his own regulations, the King consented.†

The result of the Hampton-Court conference convinced the nation that the Puritans would receive no countenance

* Neal.

† The Translation then made, by the desire of the Puritans, is the one now in use. It was done, in the most careful manner, in the year 1611.

or indulgence from the Crown ; that the penal laws enacted against non-conformity would experience no relaxation ; that the tyranny of the prelates would have the full support of royal authority. This conference was succeeded by a royal proclamation, in which all subjects are enjoined to conform to the doctrine and discipline of the church as now established, and to expect no further alterations. The Convocation of the Clergy which sat soon after, passed a great number of Canons ; many of them very severe against every degree of non-conformity, to which all who refused their assent were to be punished with excommunication. A person excommunicated by ecclesiastical authority, was deprived of all religious privileges, even Christian sepulture ; and, in a great measure, of the privileges and protection of civil law.

The See of Canterbury having been vacated by the death of Archbishop Whitgift, soon after the Hampton-Court conference, it was supplied by the appointment of Archbishop Bancroft. A great advocate of prerogative ; a man of fiery temper, of strong resentments, of implacable feelings ; he was a proper instrument to attempt the execution of the visionary measures of the King respecting uniformity, and to enforce the rigid penalties of the ecclesiastical laws. The Puritans, therefore, soon found their sufferings to increase. A more strict inquisition was made of all who fell under suspicion, with regard to their compliance with the prescribed ceremonies. He enjoined a strict observance of all the festivals of the church ; with all the particular forms of divine service and administration of ordinances, and the appointed vestments of the clergy. He required a new subscription to the Articles prescribed by his predecessor, respecting the supremacy and compliance with all the forms of the Liturgy, against which the Puritans had uniformly protested as an insupportable grievance. The number of ministers who refused this subscription, Mr. Neal calculates, to be not less than fifteen hundred. In twenty-four counties, there were 746. The Court of High-Commission proceeded with

rigour against those who refused to subscribe, or to comply with the appointed forms of worship. Delinquents were punished at the discretion of a court, exasperated by ill success and unrestrained by law, with suspension, deprivation, fines and imprisonment. In many instances, fines and costs reduced the sufferers and their families to beggary, while long and severe imprisonment often terminated in the death of the victim.

These severe persecutions affected the laity as well as the clergy. Whoever were found attending any religious exercises, excepting such as were appointed in the Book of Common Prayer, were sure to experience the resentment of the High-Commission. All who presumed to espouse the cause of the non-conforming clergy, or to vindicate the sentiments of the Puritans, exposed themselves to the censure of the late canons, and all their penalties. Did any dare to censure the usurpations of the prelates, or the severities of the High-Commission, they were subjected to all the rigours of persecution. If any appeared in an unusual sanctity of life, were conscientious observers of the Sabbath and of the real duties of religion, they were stigmatized as Puritans, they became the subjects of suspicion, and if they were so fortunate as to avoid the arm of power, they became the mark for the finger of scorn. Persons of all stations in life experienced the severities of the times. Various attempts were made in Parliament, and even in the Convocation, to restrain the excesses of ecclesiastical tyranny, and to alleviate the sufferings of the Puritans, but they were ineffectual.

The weight of religious intolerance having been long endured; its severities continually increasing; there being no reasonable prospect of relief, many people began to entertain serious thoughts of leaving their native country, the land of their fathers' sepulchres, and the unchanging object of their affections; to seek in foreign lands that religious freedom which is the birth-right of every Christian. They loved their country and its laws, but the kingdom of Christ, and the precepts of his word, had a

higher place in their affections. As early as the year 1602, a number of pious people in the north of England finding themselves and their ministers greatly distressed by the ecclesiastical courts, wishing to enjoy the privileges of the gospel according to *the simplicity that is in Christ*, unadulterated by human inventions and impositions, entered into a solemn covenant "to walk with God and one another, in the enjoyment of the ordinances of God according to the primitive pattern." Unable to maintain this, their covenant in their own country, they were obliged to look to others, where the church had rest. The states of Holland, at this time, gave a free toleration, to different denominations of protestants, and the constitution of the Dutch Reformed churches was agreeable to the sentiments generally entertained by the Puritans in England. These considerations, with the vicinity of the country, and the constant intercourse maintained between the two nations, induced many of them to turn their attention to that country. At first, individuals and single families went over to Holland, where they united with the churches of the country, or attached themselves to English garrisons, who then occupied some of the Dutch towns. The number of emigrants increasing, Archbishop Bancroft procured a proclamation from the King, by which these emigrations were strictly prohibited. This was seconded by new vigilance and increased severities in the ecclesiastical courts. The Pursuivants (constables of the Bishops' courts) were ever on the alert, to enforce conformity to the ecclesiastical laws, and to prevent all emigrations. Forbidden to worship God according to his precepts, at home, the unhappy sufferers were not allowed to go abroad to seek the privilege. Such measures, however, opposed to the resolution of religious liberty, to the firmness of integrity, and to the dictates of duty, were utterly ineffectual.

Mr. John Robinson, a divine belonging to the county of Norfolk, eminently distinguished for abilities, learning and piety, and the various requisite qualifications of a minis-

ter of Christ, having been, with his congregation, greatly harassed with the tyranny of the spiritual courts, they determined to leave their country in a body, and retire to Holland. When they first contemplated a removal, they thought of fixing their residence in the wilds of America; but the attempt appearing too arduous, they removed from their native country and settled in Amsterdam, in Holland, about the year 1607. As this congregation commenced the settlement, and constituted the first church in New-England, their history deserves our particular consideration.

Mr. Robinson and his congregation, having resolved on a removal, and having disposed of their property with that view, had many difficulties to encounter to effect their emigration. There was a general prohibition of emigration; the Puritans who were suspected of such attempts, were narrowly watched by the ecclesiastical authorities. The ports and harbors were carefully inspected, and, the design of this congregation being suspected, strict orders were given that they should not be suffered to depart. They were necessitated to use the most secret methods, to give extravagant fees to seamen, by whom they were often betrayed. Twice they attempted to embark, were discovered and prevented. At another time, having got on board a ship, with their effects, the shipmaster sailed a little distance, then returned and delivered them to the resentment of their enemies. The next year they made another attempt, in which, after the severest trials, they succeeded. Having engaged a ship belonging to Holland for their conveyance, they were going on board. By some treachery, their enemies had been informed of their design, and, at this juncture, a great number of armed men came upon them. A part of the men were on board, without any of their effects; the women and children were in a barque approaching the ship. The Dutch captain, apprehensive of danger to himself, hoisted sail, and with a fair wind directed his course to Holland. The passengers used every effort to persuade him to return, in vain.

They saw their wives and children fall into the hands of merciless enemies, while unable to afford them any relief. They had none of their effects, not even a change of clothes on board. A violent storm came on, which raged seven days without intermission. By the violence of the storm they were driven to the coast of Norway. On a sudden, the sailors exclaimed, "The ship has foundered; she sinks! she sinks!" The seamen trembled in despair; the pilgrims looked up to God, and cried, *Yet Lord thou canst save. Yet Lord thou canst save.* To the astonishment of all, the vessel soon began to rise, and rode out the storm. At length they arrived at their destined port, and united in the praise of their Holy Preserver, in the words of the Psalmist, *O that men would praise the Lord for his goodness, for his wonderful works to the children of men.* After some time, all their friends who had been left, by the favour of a gracious Providence, *in perils of robbers, in perils by their own countrymen, in perils in the sea, in perils among false brethren,* arrived safely in Holland, where they mingled their mutual congratulations with grateful praise to God. A few remarks on these events still remaining on the records of this ancient church, are deserving of notice. "I may not omitt the fruite that came heerby; for by these soe publicke troubles, in soe many eminent places, their cause became famous, & occationed many to looke into the same. And their godlye carryage & christian behaviour was such as left a deep impression in the minds of many. And altho some few shrunke att those first conflicts as sharp beginniges, (as it was noe marvell,) yett many more came on with ffreshe corage, & greatly anymated others. And in the end, notwithstanding all these stormes of opposition, they all gott over to *Hollande* at length some att one time & some att another, & mett together againe accordinge to their heartes desires, with noe small rejoyceing."

This congregation fixed their residence in Amsterdam. But in consequence of some unhappy disputes which then agitated the other English churches in that city, they

thought it prudent to remove. Accordingly, they removed the next year and settled in the city of Leyden. There they were kindly received, and enjoyed a quiet habitation. As the flames of religious tyranny and persecution continued to rage in England, many of their countrymen went over and joined with them, where, under the able ministry of their beloved Pastor, they continued in great union and prosperity, and became a numerous congregation. *Walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, they were multiplied.* The church contained three hundred communicants. After the tempests of persecution, and the severe perils through which they had passed, this quiet habitation was to them a happy foretaste of that rest which *remaineth for the people of God.*

When Mr. Robinson first separated from the church of England, he was inclined to the sentiments of the Brownists; a sect of rigid separatists, who denied the Church of England to be a true church. But in consequence of considerable conversation with the learned Dr. Ames, and his own careful reflections, he became convinced of the error of the Brownists, and was ready to extend Christian communion to his brethren of the established church. His church was established upon the principles of the Independents, of which denomination of Christians, who afterwards became so numerous in England and in America, Mr. Robinson is considered the father. The ecclesiastical constitution and doctrinal sentiments adopted by Mr. Robinson's church at Leyden, was the germ from which all the New-England churches have sprung.

After remaining a number of years in Holland, this *little flock* found their situation, on many accounts, unpleasant. The immoralities of their neighbours were dangerous to the rising generation; the difficulties of procuring a comfortable living induced many of their sons to enter the Dutch armies and navy; there was reason to apprehend their posterity would become incorporated with the people of the country, and their church become extinct. These considerations added to the more powerful motive,

the hope of laying a foundation for the extensive advancement of the Kingdom of Christ in the western wilderness, induced them to remove to America. Previous to their final determination, as their governing maxim always was, *In all thy ways acknowledge God, and he shall direct thy paths*, they set apart a day for fasting and prayer, to seek direction from God.

Their removal being resolved, new difficulties were to be encountered. They applied for leave to go under the royal sanction, but were refused. At length they obtained permission from the Virginia company to make a settlement near the mouth of Hudson's River, and after many delays had some unofficial intimations that they would not be molested in the exercise of their religion. It was resolved that a part of the congregation should first remove, and the major part with their Pastor, should remove after the new settlement had commenced. This produced a scene, *their parting*, not to be described. Mutual sufferings, and a long period of harmonious union had endeared them to each other, by the strongest ties. Previous to their departure, they observed together one more solemn day of humiliation and prayer. On that occasion Mr. Robinson preached from Ezra viii. 21. *Then I proclaimed a fast there at the river Ahava, that we might afflict ourselves before our God, to seek of him a right way for us, and for our little ones, and for all our substance.* After this, say their records, "They left that goodlye & pleasant city, which had been their resting-place near twelve yeeres. But they knew they were *pilgrimes*, & looked not much on those things but lifted up their eyes to Heaven, their dearest country, & quieted their spirits.—But truly doleful was the sight of that sad partinge, to see what teares did gush from every eye & expressions which pierced each others harte, that sundrye of the Dutch strangers could not refrain from teares. But the tyde calling them to depart, their Rev. Pastor falling down on his knees, & they all with him with watery cheeks commended them, with most fervent prayers to the Lord, & his

blessings, & then with mutual embraces & many teares, they took their leaves of one another, which proved to be their last leave with manye of them." They sailed to Southampton in England, where they met the other ships and their friends, who were going with them from England. This was in July, 1620.

On the fifth of August they sailed from Southampton, but on account of bad weather and the leakiness of one of their vessels, they were obliged twice to put back. The poorer vessel they were compelled to leave, while as many as could be accommodated, one hundred and one persons of the adventurers, entered on board the other ship and took their last leave of the land of their fathers, on the sixth of September. *Called to go out into a place which they should after receive for an inheritance, they obeyed; and they went out, not knowing whither they went.*

After a tedious voyage, safely housed in the ark which God in his providence had directed them to prepare, protected by him who *directs the storm*, on the tenth of November they arrived at Cape Cod. The Dutch, intending to keep possession of Hudson's River, had bribed the ship-master to carry these adventurers so far northward, that they should not find their intended place of residence. They had found land, and it was too late in the season to put to sea again, they were in a good harbour, but on a most barren and inhospitable shore.

On their arrival, they stepped upon the strand, and with bended knees gave thanks to God, who had preserved his church in the ark, who had preserved their number entire, and brought them in safety to these unhallowed shores. Being without the limits of their patent, as to civil government, they were in a state of nature. They therefore procured and signed a civil compact, by which they severally bound themselves to be obedient to all ordinances made by the body, acknowledging the King of Great Britain to be their lawful sovereign. They say in the preamble, "Having undertaken for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian Faith, and Honour of our

King and Country, a Voyage to Plant the first Colony in the Northern Parts of Virginia, do by these presents," &c. This instrument was executed on board their ship on the eleventh of November. Mr. John Carver, a man of distinguished abilities and eminent piety, was chosen their Governor.

The prospects now before them were such as to appal any other than our fathers. In a most howling wilderness, inhabited by pagan savages and wild beasts, a dreary winter approaching, no shelter from the tempest, and, as yet, no place of abode. They had one resting place, and that was their all. Their trust was in Him who hath said to his chosen, *The eternal God is thy refuge, and underneath are the everlasting arms; and he shall thrust out the enemy from before thee, and shall say, Destroy them.*

After several unsuccessful attempts to find a convenient place for their residence, a party sent out for discovery, entered the harbor of Plymouth. In a severe storm on a December night, having, with their little barque, narrowly escaped a shipwreck, they were cast upon an island in the harbor. This was on Friday night. The next day they dried their clothes, concluding to remain on this little island, till after the Sabbath. This little band, about twenty in number, observed the next day as a Sabbath, which was the first Sabbath ever observed in a religious manner, on the New-England shore. Having examined the harbor, they returned to the ship, which weighed anchor and brought in their consecrated cargo in safety. Here these pious pilgrims landed on the twenty-second of December, 1620. They called the place Plymouth, the name of the town from which they last sailed in England. They now had a country and a home, but they had a better country on high.

They had now to contend with the inclement seasons, with innumerable privations, in a constant fear of a savage foe. But God had prepared their way before them. A desolating plague, which prevailed among the natives about three years before, had nearly depopulated those

parts of the country. On this account, they received very little molestation from the savages for many years. Had they been carried to Hudson's River, according to their intention, where the savages were numerous, there is much reason to believe the little colony would have been cut off. Infinite Wisdom directed their course to their prepared habitation. *We have heard with our ears, O God, our fathers have told us, how thou didst drive out the heathen with thy hand, and planted them.*

The severities of the season, their unwholesome food, and their incessant labours, brought upon this little flock a general and very mortal sickness, so that forty-six of their number died before the opening of the ensuing spring. Of those who survived, the most had been severely sick. Who can contemplate this little band, in an uncultivated wilderness, with no promise of support from their mother country, exposed to the inclement skies of a dreary winter, with scanty supplies of food, utterly unskilled and destitute of the means for the cultivation of a new country, with no security for future harvests ; surrounded with a savage enemy whose seats and prowess they could not know ; visited with a raging disease, committing, at times, two or three in a day to the grave, of the living scarcely enough who had strength to perform the rites of sepulture ;—without despondency, firmly determined to abide the just appointments of Heaven, and not admire a virtue which the religion of the Lord Jesus alone can furnish, and a patriotism to which the canonized heroes of Rome could never attain. Had their object been to obtain a property, for themselves and their posterity, or to obtain a name among the heroes of enterprize, they had sunk under their sufferings. Their souls were strengthened with other prospects. They confided in the wisdom of Heaven ; they firmly believed that the Most High would here plant and maintain his church ; that he would make the American wilderness like Eden, and her desert like the garden of the Lord. Buoyed up by faith, strengthened by the promises, obstacles vanished before them. They knew God

had often led his church into the wilderness, but he had never forsaken her. He *raised up the righteous man from the east*, brought him to a strange country, *the Canaanite was then in the land*, but *he gave them as the dust to his sword, and as driven stubble to his bow.*

On the fifth of April after their arrival, the Plymouth Company were called to mourn the loss of their excellent governor, and a deacon in the church, Mr. Carver. Mr. Bradford, a gentleman of distinguished worth, was chosen to succeed him, and excepting four years, he was annually elected to the office till his death, in 1657. A little before the death of Mr. Carver, the Indian Sachem, Massasoit, came into Plymouth, in a friendly manner, and entered into a treaty of friendship with the Colony, which he observed inviolably till his death. He was father of the famous Sachem, King Philip.

After the first desolating sickness, the people of Plymouth were, generally, very healthy, and the most of the first planters who survived that epidemic, lived to old age. Their privations, however, and their sufferings, inseparable from the circumstances of their situation, were great in the extreme. Their property was, principally, held in common stock for the support of the whole. And the wants of the few first years, consumed the most of their store. Through fear of the natives, having received some threatening intimations from some of the tribes, they were necessitated to erect a fort, to empale their whole village, and to keep a constant guard.—In their excursions to find a proper place for settlement, while their ship lay at the Cape, they found about ten bushels of Indian corn which had been buried, for which they afterwards paid the owners, which helped to preserve their lives the first winter, and afford them seed for planting in the ensuing spring. Some friendly Indians taught them the manner of raising their corn, but their crop was very unequal to their necessities. Mr. Hutchinson is of opinion that no English grain was raised in the colony previous to the year 1633 ; when a few ears of rye were produced.

The first domestic cattle were brought to the colony in 1624 ; previous to which, they had none for milk or labour. The most credible historians affirm that these pilgrims subsisted, in repeated instances, for days and weeks together, without bread, feeding upon the wild nuts of the woods, and shell-fish. Their difficulties for cloathing were equally great. Some of the ancient writers intimate, that the great mortality in the first winter, appears to have been the means, under a wise Providence, of preserving the colony from perishing by famine.

The second summer after their arrival, the settlement was threatened with a famine by a severe drought. From the third week in May to the middle of July, there was no rain. Their corn, for which they had made their utmost exertions, withered under the heat of a scorching sun, the greater part of it appeared irrecoverably lost. The Indians, seeing their prospects, observed they would soon be subdued by famine, when they should find them an easy prey. A public Fast was appointed and observed with great solemnity. The morning and most of the day was clear and hot, but, towards evening, the clouds collected, and, like the gracious influences of God, the rain descended in moderate, yet copious showers. This revived their expiring crop, and produced a plentiful harvest. After which they observed a day of public Thanksgiving. I believe this to be the origin of our annual Thanksgivings. This event made an astonishing impression on the minds of the Natives, who saw and acknowledged that the God of the Christians was great, and good, and a hearer of prayer.*

In the autumn of 1621, the plantation received an accession of settlers, of about thirty-five, of their friends from Holland.—In the year 1625, their venerable and beloved Pastor, the Rev. Mr. Robinson, died at Leyden, in the fiftieth year of his age. He was thus prevented from

* See Morton, and others.

ever seeing his much-loved American church. After his death, the most of his congregation came over to Plymouth.

The Planters who first came to Plymouth were accompanied by Mr. William Brewster, a Ruling Elder in the church, who supplied, in a good degree, the absence of their Pastor. He was a man of abilities and learning, having been liberally educated at the University of Cambridge, and of great piety. Being an able and useful preacher, he served the congregation in that capacity the greater part of the time till his death, about twenty-three years after the first settlement. The congregation, however, enjoyed the labours of other ministers during this period.

This little colony continued for many years in harmony, and were, perhaps, as eminent as any people which have appeared in modern times, for continuing *stedfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers.*

SECTION IV.

REFLECTIONS....PERSECUTION; ITS ORIGIN, NATURE, AND EFFECTS.

HAVING seen that the first settlement of New-England was an effect of religious persecution; having given a brief sketch of its progress in England, from the period of the Reformation, to the migration of our forefathers from their native country; we will here make a little pause in our narration, and devote the present section to a consideration of the general nature of religious persecution.

The true ground of persecution on account of religion is the enmity of the human heart to the righteousness of God. All true religion flows from God and partakes of his character. The true character of the human heart,

in view of the holiness and purity of the Most High, is attested by an authority which could not err. *Now have they both seen and hated both me and my Father.* This being the case, persecution, which flows from enmity to righteousness, is congenial to the nature of the human heart. The image of the moral character of God is impressed upon his people. For, *if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his.* This spirit of holiness, wherever it exists, whether in a greater or less degree, is the object of the dislike and hatred of the human heart. The operation of this principle in the cause of persecution, seems to be after this manner. There is something in righteousness, so just, so reasonable, so excellent, so imposing, that the intellect, the conscience, of all reasonable beings, always testify in its favour. When, therefore, the transgressor looks upon the friend of truth, he views him as possessing a valuable quality which he does not possess himself, and for not possessing it, he feels himself not only a loser, but criminally guilty. Thus a spirit of selfishness and envy adds an acumen to his hatred of righteousness, and engages all the rage of the heart against the friends and servants of God.—The characters of the righteous are a constant, and a severe reproof to the wicked. The integrity, the purity, and the benevolence, of the friends of truth, administer to the wicked, a reproof, more impressive and severe, than the powers of language ever can give. This silent testimony for righteousness, this overwhelming censure of vice, is, many times, too heavy for the wicked to bear. In such cases, the internal rage of the soul bursts forth into a flame of persecution. The citizen of Athens gave his vote for the banishment of Aristides, because he could not endure to hear him called The Just. If the light which glowed around the best man in the city were extinguished, his own vices would not appear in so deep a shade.

The earliest instance of persecution on record, issued in the death of the second person that was born, by the hand of the first. An infallible commentator upon this transac-

tion has clearly elucidated its nature. *And wherefore slew he him ? Because his own works were evil, and his brother's righteous.* The pure character of the first martyr was the principal cause which inflamed the rage of his unrighteous brother. *If thou doest WELL, shalt thou not be accepted ?* This, he would not do. And to conceal the odium of his wickedness, he resolved to extinguish the pure flame that ascended from the altar of Abel's faith. As this was the first instance of persecution for righteousness' sake, so was it the pattern, and the true characteristic of all which have since taken place.

From the preceding remarks, it may be observed, that a spirit of persecution is a spirit of Atheism. A fixed disapprobation of the moral character of Jehovah, a confirmed dislike of his holiness, is a real denial of God. His holiness is essential to his character ; to disclaim the holiness of God, therefore, is Atheism.

The character of God is discernible from his works and from the communications which he has made of himself, which are accessible by all men. This position is established by the testimony of inspiration. Of those who hold the truth in unrighteousness, the Apostle observes, Romans i. 19, 20. *Because that which may be known of God, is manifest in them ; for God hath shewed it unto them. For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and God-head ; so that they are without excuse.* If the character of God be exhibited in his works of creation, in the things that are made, so clearly as that men are without excuse for not glorifying him, and for being unthankful ; it is evident, that the existence and essential attributes of the Most High are clearly discernible from his works. The Evangelist John testifies concerning Christ, *That was the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.* It appears, therefore, that all men have before them, the evidence of the essential character of God, contained in his works, and that all men are enlightened, in some degree, by the light

of Christ. This being the case, all the heathen, who deny the true God, who forsake Jehovah for the worship of false gods, are, virtually and practically, Atheists. It has not been customary to affix this appellation upon the devotees of Bell, Astarte, Osiris, Saturn, and Woden, as they did not deny the existence of invisible beings, whom they denominated gods. Yet, God has manifested himself to men, as we have seen, and he requires the sole acknowledgment of his creatures. The gods of the heathen are no gods ; and the whole system of their mythology is a tacit confession that their gods are vanity. The characters which they give them ; the attributes which they ascribe to their divinities, show that they despise them, as undeserving of fear or love. As, therefore, there is no God but the Lord ; as he requires an undivided homage, or none at all ; and as he has given sufficient evidence of his existence, those who do not truly acknowledge him, are, verily, *without God* (in the original,) *Atheists, in the world.*

From this practical atheism, this atheism of the heart, proceeds all persecution of true religion. As all true religion comes from God, and partakes of his character, the heart which is opposed to him, will hate his religion wherever it may appear. Holiness is the same *in its nature*, whether it exists in God, or in creatures. The view of it ever excites the hatred and enmity of an unholy heart. Thus the hearts of men are naturally prepared for the services of persecution, in afflicting and destroying the friends of holiness and truth.

Various are the means, which, through the good Providence of God, have prevented the malice of persecution from raging incessantly, against the cause of truth, in every period of time. It has ever been most evident, that revealed religion has been better calculated to secure the tranquillity and promote the prosperity of *civil society*, than any system of policy or morals ever devised by human wisdom. All wise legislators, therefore, no less than the philanthropist and the moralist, have found it necessary to make it the basis, if not the leading feature of their respect-

ive systems. In the course of this history, we expect to show that the civil institutions communicated by God to Moses, have been the foundation of all the distinguished systems of legislation, in ancient and modern times. Thus, the incorporation of human institutions, to a certain degree, with divine truth, has operated as a protection of the friends of the righteousness of God. Another means, which has operated to restrain the unlimited rage of persecution, is the moral symmetry, the originality, and the unequalled excellency of the truths and the composition of the Holy Scriptures, which have ever commended themselves to all persons of discernment and taste, in an irresistible manner. And though the heart may feel a painful repugnance to many of their doctrines, the conscience acknowledges their correctness, and the intellect cannot withhold the highest approbation. But that which has been, perhaps, the most powerful cause of restraining the rage of persecution, is the great imperfection and deficiencies of the people of God, in their duty. The frequent failings, and the habitual unfaithfulness of the visible friends of Christ, are a constant relief to the consciences of the wicked. It is not *principle*, but *practice*, that effectually harrows the feelings of a corrupt heart. Notwithstanding the novelty and the purity of the doctrines of Christ, it is most likely his enemies would never have put him to death, had it not been for the holiness of his life. His humble demeanor, his faithful obedience, his unostentatious benevolence, his stedfast testimony for God, were a satire and a reproof upon their principles and conduct, which they could not endure. That holiness of conduct, which continually reminded them that they deserved the wrath of God, was too much to be borne ; his blood alone could remove the reproof and satiate their rage. The same is true of the long list of the faithful martyrs of truth. The corrupt court of Darius could not endure the presence of Daniel ; because they could *find no occasion against him* except it were *concerning the law of his God*. He must therefore be destroyed. Stephen loved, taught, and

practised the truths of Christ ; therefore, was he put to death. Marcus Aurelius hated the Christians, because their lives were more immaculate than any of the moralists of Rome, and because they would die with more composure, submission, and hope, than he could witness in his illustrious patriots or most devoted sycophants. In times of persecution, the Christian character is always the most brilliant. In times of quietness, the friends of Christ relax in their fidelity, and grow negligent in duty, and their enemies rest at ease. If, in their characters, they cease to assail the fabric of wickedness, its defenders will leave them unmolested.

The early patriarchs and saints, and in later times, the Jewish people, endured the sufferings of persecution from the rage of the wicked, who disowned the true God. At the rise of Christianity, the Roman Empire, which honoured the divinities who were vanity and a lie, raised its persecuting arm against the cause of truth, and used every effort to effect its destruction. For several ages the blood of the martyrs flowed in streams and torrents.

Superstition and hypocrisy, when grafted upon true religion, when nothing of the truth remains but the name, are well prepared for the graceless work of persecution. By carrying on its front the name of the true God, conscience is quieted, while the heart is left free to exercise all its rage against his holiness and truth. Yea, the glare of names and profession, often dazzles the minds of men to such a degree, that they perceive not the motive by which they are actuated, and instead of the gratification of malice, they suppose it to be a zeal for God. Under the covert of such a delusion, the deepest atheistical rage takes a secure retreat, and is prepared for the execution of every wickedness. To such, the appeals of truth are ineffectual ; satisfied with the name without the reality, they are deaf to its most solemn remonstrances. The Jews were once the people of God's gracious covenant. Abraham was their father ; Moses was their lawgiver ; Samuel and the prophets were their ancestors. But previous to

the advent of the Messiah, they had become deeply sunk in corruption and vice. The forms of their religion they retained, the names of their sacred things were often in their mouths, but the pure precepts and the practical truths of the divine commandment, they had corrupted, discarded, and destroyed. By their *traditions*, they had *made the commandment of God of none effect*. They had assumed the prerogative of heaven, and, by their own prescriptions, presumed to direct, vary or annul, the precepts of God. Instead of submitting to the plain precepts of the God of Israel, they would subject his holy truth, and his divine institutions to a conformity to their fancies, to countenance the indulgence of all their corruptions. Thus, by discarding the high authority of Jehovah, they disowned the true God ; they would acknowledge no God but such an one as is not the God of Heaven, and thus, in reality, they acknowledged none. When therefore the true God sent to them his only begotten Son, bringing with him all the credentials of heaven, perfectly sustaining the divine character of his Father ; teaching the doctrines of holiness, self-denial, and salvation by grace ; they say at once, *Away with him !* They put him to death ; and their rage against his followers has continued from that day to this.

The papal power was nominally Christian, but it became, at length, a great Apostate, the enemy of God, the enemy of righteousness. This apostate church is accurately described by the apostle to the Thessalonians, as one *Who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped ; so that he, as God, sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God*. In this character, the catholic power became truly atheistical. The catholic church assumed a prerogative, equal, perhaps superior, to that of the Jews in their most corrupt state, of modifying, mutilating, and adding to the word of God. The prerogatives ascribed to their Chief, some of them at least, were such as belong only to God. The doctrine of transubstantiation, which maintained that

the elements of the eucharist, by the incantation of the administrator, were transformed into the body and blood of Christ, and that the bread should then be presented as a proper object of *adoration*, was a most palpable denial of God. A late eloquent writer* observes, "Popery naturally and necessarily conducts a nation into practical and speculative atheism." His judicious reasoning upon this position, I omit. A careful consideration of the history of those times, will convince any one, that, previous to the Reformation, real atheism had overspread the most of the countries which were subject to the Romish See. We notice one fact, which has been well pronounced by competent judges, "an incontrovertible proof of the practical atheism of the times in which it took place."—In the year 1477, an attempt was made, from motives of mere wickedness, to assassinate Lorenzo de' Medici, the head of the republic of Florence, the most polished state of Italy, which was, at that time, the most refined country in Europe. In this transaction, were associated, the pope, a cardinal, an archbishop, and several other distinguished ecclesiastics. The assassination was performed in a church, at the time of the administration of the holy eucharist, at the very period of the elevation of the host, when the people bowed in adoration. Lorenzo escaped; but his brother Giuliano, whose death had also been determined by the assassins, fell by their ruffian hands. Lorenzo was at that time the most illustrious and the most useful character in Italy.†

The Romish church having assumed such a character, it naturally became a violent persecutor of the religion of Christ. From about the eleventh century, to the time of the Reformation, the persecutions of this Anti-Christian power were numerous and cruel. The people of God *had trial of cruel mockings and scourgings, yea, moreover, of bonds and imprisonment, and death.*

* Bristed.

† See Roscoe's Life of Lorenzo de' Medici; and Universal History, Vol. XXXIII.

The period of the Reformation, one of the most interesting epochs in the history of the church, was undoubtedly distinguished with the special effusions of the Spirit of God, as has been observed by President Edwards in his History of Redemption, and with a very great increase of true religion in the visible church of Christ. This observation, however, applies more particularly to Germany and the countries on the continent which adopted the Reformation, where it was effected, principally, by the undaunted efforts of the zealous friends of truth. In England, the cause of the Reformation was first espoused by the government, and, primarily, from political views. Though there was, undoubtedly, a progressive and a great increase of vital religion, in the nation, from this time, this increase was slow and gradual. It was therefore a long period, before there was any great change in public sentiment upon the subject of religion. That change of public sentiment, which was effected in many of the continental states, by the concussions of the Reformation, in a short period; in England, was left to the ordinary course of events, and was not effected in less than a century. Thus, although the principles of the Reformation were adopted by the state, vital religion continued subject to public obloquy; and the propriety of punishing Non-conformity could not be eradicated from the public mind. From these causes, proceeded the severe persecutions to which the Puritans were continually subjected, from the time of their first rise, soon after the Reformation, till after the period in which some of them emigrated to America, and laid the foundation of the states and churches of New-England.

As persecution has ever been the great means in the hand of the Most High of separating the gold of his church from the dross; so the sufferings of our fathers produced in them an example of humility, of fidelity to the truth, of unconquerable zeal for God, of unchanging attachment to the interests of Zion, of labour and suffering for the advancement of these interests; which is a legacy, be-

queathed to their posterity, of inestimable value, which will be celebrated to the remotest periods of the church, and will finally raise these sons of renown to elevated seats in endless glory.

CHAPTER II.

SETTLEMENT AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE NEW-ENGLAND COLONIES.

SECTION I.

FURTHER EMIGRATIONS OF THE PURITANS ...SETTLEMENT OF THE COLONY OF MASSACHUSETTS.

IN the third section of the last chapter we gave an account of the establishment and early progress of the colony of Plymouth, which was the first of the New-England colonies. The last section consisted of general reflections on the nature and effects of religious persecution. We now resume the narration, and will give a sketch of the dispensations of Divine Providence in the first settlement of the colony of Massachusetts. This is the second in the time of settlement, and for population and wealth, has always been the first of the colonies of New-England.

The successful efforts of Mr. Robinson's congregation, in removing to Holland, and thence to America, for the sake of the undisturbed enjoyment of the worship and ordinances of God, engaged the attention of all the pious part of their fellow-countrymen. They saw what men, engaged in a holy zeal for God, could do ; they saw how such efforts met with the countenance of Heaven ; they saw how difficulties unparalleled were dissipated by their fortitude and exertions. Many of their brethren in England, who were suffering under the unabated rigour of religious intolerance, heard indeed of their sufferings, but they heard of their prosperity. They found that God attended them to their prepared habitation, that he had made a way for them in the wilderness, that they enjoy-

ed the privileges of his service without molestation, and that they were laying the foundations of eminent churches of the Lord Jesus, upon the pure principles of gospel order. The future prospects of the American Church opened to their view. These unhallowed shores, which had been, indeed, the habitations of cruelty and the seat of the worship of false gods, for ages ; but which had never been defiled with Papal impositions, and the polluted superstitions of the great Apostacy ; they believed were to become the dwelling-place of the divine Emmanuel, in the holy communications of his grace.

While the oppressions of the Ecclesiastical courts continued ; while the usurpations of the prelates and the severities of the High-Commission remained unabated ; while fresh attempts were constantly made to enforce the observance of the canons and ceremonies of the church, the number of Non-conformists steadily increased ; multitudes of the best men were constantly driven from the service and the privileges of the church. While the conscientious Non-conformists sought to enjoy the pure worship of God, unadulterated with human impositions, *in private assemblies*, the vigilance of blind zeal discovered their retreats, and dragged them forth, unfeelingly, to the light, and to punishment. These sufferings, long endured, without any prospect of their termination, by a very natural effect, impressed upon the Non-conformists the deepest sense of the inestimable worth of the pure privileges of Christian liberty, as contemplated in the gospel of Christ. It is not possible for us, who have never felt the evils of civil or religious tyranny, to conceive the nature of their feelings upon this subject. We can best judge of them by the effects which were produced. As a spirit of emigration began to prevail in the nation, by which the views of men became greatly enlarged, some pious people, persons of enterprise, of character, and of fortune, projected the plan of a settlement, *on the principles and for the purposes of religion*. The character and the success of the infant colony of Plymouth, with various other consid-

erations, turned their attention to New-England. Some of those considerations were the following : The country, excepting at the small settlement at Plymouth, was wholly unoccupied by Europeans. The natives of the country were few, and no great dangers were apprehended from their hostility. The climate and state of the country were such as to present no great allurements to the cupidity of adventurers, whose sole object was gain. The abundant fisheries of the sea-coast and the rivers, must afford a facility of support to the first planters. And, finally, the country was thought to be sufficiently distant to avoid the oppressions of the hierarchies of Europe. In addition to these, there was another motive, which had, with many of them, a very powerful influence. They knew that the Church of Christ was first planted in the east. It had been, for ages, gradually, journeying to the west. They believed this progress not yet completed. They saw the holy providence of God awakening the spirit of daring navigators to unveil new climes to the view of men, and all in subserviency to the interests of the holy kingdom of Him, to whom is *given dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages, should serve him.* They believed that the heavenly dove would shortly rest on this side of the Atlantic, and here fix a long abode.

In the year 1606, King James I. granted the whole of North America, between 34 and 45 degrees of north latitude, to two companies. The proprietors of the southern part being, principally, merchants in London, were denominated the London Company, and their tract of country retained the name of Virginia. The proprietors of the northern division being, generally, merchants of Plymouth, were stiled the Plymouth Company, and their territory was called North Virginia. The name of Virginia had been given to the whole country, in the reign of Elizabeth. In 1614, the coasts of the northern district were particularly surveyed by Capt. Smith of Virginia, who gave it the name of New-England. This name soon

became general in the mother country. It appears probable, that the Plymouth Company would never have done any thing for the settlement of the country, had it not been for the successful enterprise of the first planters of New-Plymouth. Their object was wealth, and all their efforts issued in disappointment. Had not some more powerful motive engaged the exertions of other characters, this fair country might have been, at this day, in the possession of the aborigines of America, or subject to the tyranny of Papal superstition. It is very doubtful whether the small settlements, which had commenced in Virginia and New-York, would not have been wholly relinquished, which had been the event of several preceding attempts, had it not been for the firm stand made by the pious pilgrims of the north.

In the year 1620, after the departure of the adventurers of Mr. Robinson's congregation, King James incorporated several noblemen and others, by the name of "The Council of Plymouth in the County of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering and governing New-England in America."* The several patents of the New-England colonies issued from the authority of this Council. Between the years 1620 and 1628, several small patents were issued from the Council for New-England, granting certain tracts within the limits of the Massachusetts, and some public attempts were made for settlements. None of these were permanent. The immense difficulties attending these undertakings, discouraged any attempts which were not supported by a primary regard to the honour of God, and a fervent zeal for the advancement of the cause of the Redeemer.

Mr. White, the minister of Dorchester in England, a divine eminent for talents and piety, who could not ac-

* Dr. Trumbull, by his long and indefatigable exertions, has lately procured a copy of this Original Patent, which has never before been in this country. This is the foundation of all the Territorial rights of New-England. It will, probably, soon be published.

cede to all the prescriptions of the ecclesiastical establishment, as early as the year 1624, projected the plan of a plantation in New-England, for the purposes of religion, similar, in most respects, to the one already begun at Plymouth. He wished for the establishment of a settlement, whither the pious Non-conformists in England might repair, and enjoy those privileges which were denied them in their native country. He hoped also to see churches established and built up in greater purity of gospel order than existed in any which had risen from the ruins of Popery. This object he pursued with a pious zeal, and with unwearied assiduity. He sent over the most encouraging promises to a few individuals who had sat down near the entrance of Boston harbor. But these were too few to maintain their station. Early in the year 1628, several knights and gentlemen purchased of the Council for New-England, that tract of territory which, afterwards, constituted the colony of Massachusetts. One of these purchasers was Mr. John Endicot, who will be further noticed. Mr. White, by his influence and exertions, engaged a number of religious gentlemen, in and about London, to unite in the enterprise. These purchased shares in the company, and bought out several of the original patentees. Some of the first purchasers, as soon as they found that a settlement for religious purposes was designed, chose to relinquish the object. The same reason, however, disposed many worthy characters to espouse the cause with great ardour. The grant of the Council conveyed a title to the soil, and a royal charter, investing the proprietors with the powers of civil government, was obtained in the following year. Soon after which, the company was organized with their proper officers. In the year 1628, previous to the grant of the royal charter, the patentees sent out Mr. Endicot, with a company of about an hundred adventurers, to lay the foundation of their intended colony. The management of the affairs of the colony, in America, was committed to Mr. Endicot, who was constituted governor of the plantation. A man of

unfeigned piety, of ardent zeal for the cause of pure religion, of independent mind, of intrepid spirit, of incorruptible integrity, of unchanging patriotism; Mr. Endicot was eminently qualified for the important duties which had been assigned him by the company, in laying the foundation of a Christian Commonwealth. No internal commotions changed his purposes; no dangers diverted his designs; no changes diminished his attachment to his people; no adversities shook his confidence and hope in God. He perfectly understood the original design of the company, to establish a Christian settlement on the pure principles of gospel order, so far as they understood them; and this object he pursued with inflexible purpose to the end of his life. Mr. Endicot may justly be stiled the founder of that noble commonwealth.* Mr. Endicot and his company sailed from England to America in the summer of 1628. They landed on the shore of Massachusetts Bay, and commenced the settlement of the pleasant town of Salem. It does not appear that any unusual difficulties were encountered by the plantation for the first year. In the year 1629, soon after the organization of the company under the sanction of the royal charter, they resolved on a second embarkation for their new colony. Five ships were provided for the purpose, and, being laden with cattle and other necessities for the supply of the colony, with nearly three hundred planters, men, women, and children, they sailed from England in May, and arrived at Salem in June. They found the settlement in tolerable comfortable circumstances, and brought to Mr. Endicot a re-appointment to the office of Governor. The company in England were careful to adhere to their original design, and encouraged none to remove to their rising colony but such as were friends to evangelical religion, and approved of the essential views of divine truth which were enter-

* It is much to be lamented, and it can be assigned to no other cause than a want of information, that Judge Marshall, in his excellent history, has given Governor Endicot no other character than that of "a deep enthusiast."

tained by themselves. As the plantation now contained more than three hundred inhabitants, one hundred of their number removed, this summer, and commenced the settlement of the town of Charlestown.

The company in England, having learned that Mr. Endicot had effected a lodgement in the American wilderness, made all practical exertions for the establishment of their plantation in the order of the gospel. For this purpose, they engaged two eminent divines, Mr. Higginson and Mr. Skelton, distinguished for learning and piety, both of them suffering for non-conformity, to lend their important services in laying the foundations of the American Church. These faithful servants of Christ cordially engaged in the great design, and, embarking with the second company, arrived at Salem in 1629. They and their company, the most of whom were persons of eminent piety, experienced the most welcome reception from Mr. Endicot, and a cordial union of views gave great strength to their exertions. Soon after their arrival, they set apart a day for solemn fasting and prayer, and for the purpose of uniting in church state. On the sixth of August, the persons proposing to unite in church relation, gave their public assent to a Confession of Faith, and then solemnly covenanted with God, and with each other, to walk in the ordinances of Christ. Mr. Higginson and Mr. Skelton were then set apart as the ministers of the church, the former as teacher, the latter as pastor. Mr. Endicot having corresponded with the church at Plymouth, previous to the arrival of the second company, and finding an agreement in their views on the subject of church order, that church sent delegates to Salem to unite in this interesting transaction, who gave to their new brethren the right-hand of fellowship. Their Confession of Faith and Covenant were drawn by Mr. Higginson. The Covenant begins in the following manner: "We covenant with our Lord, and one with another; and we do bind ourselves in the presence of God, to walk together in all his ways, according as he is pleased to reveal himself unto us in his blessed

word of truth."* This was the first church that was fully organized in New-England. The church at Plymouth, the only one of an earlier date, had not a regular pastor till after this time.

The company in the mother country now began to make vigorous exertions for the settlement of New-England. In the course of the year 1629, it was resolved that the corporation, with their charter, should be removed to America. Accordingly, the most of the proprietors of the Massachusetts, together with a great number of adventurers, among whom were many persons of family, of education, and of wealth, prepared to embark for the western wilderness. The most of these were influenced by one common principle ; the sufferings which they endured under ecclesiastical tyranny for a conscientious non-conformity with many of the prescribed ceremonies ; the expectation of enjoying the rights of conscience and the privileges of gospel worship and discipline, and the hope of planting the churches of their Lord in a desert, which never echoed the praises of redeeming love. They believed the cause of pure religion to be greatly declining in their native country ; they hoped the Spirit of God would attend his church into the wilderness, and give it a great increase. The churches in England having never been wholly liberated from the shackles of Popery, they believed that some might be established in a new country, more agreeable to the primitive pattern, than any which they had seen. That such churches might exist on the American strand, was the supreme object of their incessant toils, their uncommon self-denial, and their persevering prayer, to the end of their lives.

Seventeen ships were prepared, with all the necessaries for the voyage and the settlement, large supplies of provisions, implements of husbandry, and cattle. The most of these sailed early in the year 1630, and before the end of the year, they all arrived in New-England. In these

ships came Mr. John Winthrop the governor of the company, the lieutenant governor Dudley, several of the assistants, and above fifteen hundred settlers. In the election of governors and assistants in March, the company were careful to appoint those who were willing to remove. Several of these were discouraged at the prospect before the time of embarkation, and others were substituted in their place. Like the army of Gideon, all who were faint-hearted were desired to remain in their native country : it being well known that nothing less than an unconquerable firmness, with an unshaken reliance on the Divine support, could be sufficient to meet the difficulties which must necessarily be encountered. Previous to their departure, after having entered on board their ships, the governor and several others addressed a paper to their brethren of the established church, for the purpose of removing suspicions, and preventing all misconstructions of their designs ; in which they call the church of England their mother Church, beseeching the Divine blessing to rest upon her, and earnestly requesting the prayers of their brethren for them in their important and difficult undertaking.

On the arrival of Gov. Winthrop in June, who was, from that time to his death, the head and father of the colony, he found the plantation in a distressed, suffering state. In the preceding autumn, the colony contained about three hundred inhabitants. Eighty of these had died, and a great part of the survivors were in a weak, sickly state. Their supply of corn was not sufficient for more than a fortnight, and their other provisions were nearly exhausted. In addition to these evils, they were informed that a combination of various tribes of Indians was forming for the purpose of the utter extirpation of the colony. Their strength was weakness, but their confidence was in God, and they were not forsaken. Many of the planters, who arrived this summer, after long voyages, were in a sickly state, and disease continued to rage through the season. By the close of the year, the num-

ber of deaths exceeded two hundred. Among these, were several of the principal persons in the colony. Mr. Higginson, the venerable minister of Salem, spent about a year with that parent church, and was removed to the church in glory. His excellent colleague, Mr. Skelton, did not long survive him. Mr. Johnson, one of the assistants, and his lady, who was a great patroness of the settlement, died soon after their arrival. Of the latter, an early historian observes, "She left an earthly paradise in the family of an earldom, to encounter the sorrows of a wilderness, for the entertainments of a pure worship in the house of God; and then immediately left that wilderness for the heavenly paradise."

Persons of less constancy than was possessed by the fathers of New-England, in view of the obstacles and dangers now before them, would have been wholly discouraged. Before several of the ships arrived, the summer was past, they had no habitations for the approaching winter; the places of their settlement were unfixed; they had little or no forage for their cattle; they had but a distant and doubtful prospect of obtaining a support from the productions of the country; they were wholly unacquainted with the means of clearing the wilderness; the climate was much more severe than they had experienced; a wasting sickness prevailed among them; the wild beasts of the forest often raised their alarms; the savages of the wilderness, jealous of their encroachments, whose numbers and temper they could not ascertain, surrounded all their borders. But they had committed their cause to God. They believed they were called in his providence to leave the land of their nativity, he had carried them through the sea, and, they believed, though many of them might fall, he would not wholly desert them in the wilderness. He did not suffer his faithfulness to fail. *In all their affliction he was afflicted, and the angel of his presence saved them: in his love and in his pity he redeemed them; and he bare them, and carried them all the days of old.*

Four eminent ministers, Messrs. Maverick, Warham, Wilson, and Phillips, who were distinguished lights of the church of Christ while in England, attended the company which came over in 1630. These were eminent instruments of maintaining harmony in several settlements, and of promoting the general interests of the colony. Before the conclusion of the season, settlements were commenced in several places which are now some of the finest towns in New-England. Governor Winthrop and a considerable number of the company laid the foundation of the town of Boston. Mr. Nowell, one of the assistants, with a number of his friends, sat down at Charlestown, where a few remained of those who began that settlement in the preceding year. This place and Boston were considered, for a season, as one settlement and one church, under the ministry of Mr. Wilson. Sir Richard Saltonstall, one of the assistants, with a company of planters, began the settlement of Wattertown. They enjoyed the ministry of Mr. Phillips. Another of the assistants, Mr. Rossiter, with Mr. Ludlow, and a number of settlers, began the town of Dorchester. The ministers, Messrs. Warham and Maverick settled with them. A few years after, Mr. Warham and a considerable part of his people, began the settlement of Windsor on Connecticut River. Mr. Pyncheon, also an assistant, was at the head of a company who commenced the settlement of Roxbury. The famous Mr. Elliot, who came from England the year following, became their minister. At these places and Salem, the first planters continued till the next year.

The succeeding winter commenced in December, with great severity. Few of the houses which had been erected were comfortable, and the most of them were miserable coverings. Unused to such severities of climate, the people suffered severely from the cold. Many died from being frozen. The inconveniences of their accommodations increased the diseases which continued to prevail among them. But their constancy had not yet been

brought to the last trial. During the continuance of the severe season, their stock of provisions began to fail. Those who wanted were supplied by those who possessed, as long as any remained. A poor man came to the governor to complain, and was informed that the last bread of his house was in the oven. Many subsisted upon shell-fish, ground-nuts, and acorns, which at that season could not have been procured but with the utmost difficulty. Of the steadfastness and submission of the people, under these accumulated sufferings, the early historians give us many very striking testimonies. In consideration of their perilous condition, the sixth day of February was appointed for a day of public fasting and prayer, to seek deliverance from God. Every day, many knees bended in secret, many sighs rose to Him, to whose providential care they had committed their all, whose earthly kingdom they were labouring and suffering to advance. *He who provideth for the raven his food*, who prepared sustenance for Jacob, could not now be inattentive to the cries of his people. On the fifth of February, the day before the appointed fast, the ship *Lion*, which had been sent to England for that purpose, arrived laden with provisions. She had a stormy passage, and rode amid heavy drifts of ice after entering the harbour. But He who once stilled the tempest for the sake of his people, carried this ship through every danger, and brought her safe to land. On this event, the existence of the colony was, in a great measure, dependent. These provisions were distributed among the people according to their necessities, and their appointed fast was exchanged for a day of general thanksgiving.

On the opening of the spring of 1631, health was generally restored in the settlements, but the colony was greatly impoverished. The most of their provisions had been brought from England; the preceding year having been a season of uncommon scarcity, they were purchased at very high rates; by the length of the passage and the severity of the winter, the greater part of their cattle

had died ; the materials for building and implements of labour were obtained with great difficulty and expense. In imitation of their venerable governor, before whose virtues the patriotism of Leonidas and Timoleon, of Publicola, and the Decii, appears in a deepened shade ; the wealthy, feeling that they had embarked in this cause, not for themselves, but for the colony and for God, distributed of their property according to the necessities of their brethren, and soon found themselves almost divested of plentiful fortunes.

In the year 1631, great exertions were made for a crop of Indian corn, which was their whole dependence, and it pleased God to give them a favourable season, and, according to the lands improved, an abundant harvest. This must have been, indeed, an unpalatable pittance for those who had been nursed in all the delicacies of polished life, which was the case of many of those settlers, but it supplied their necessities. They came not to this trackless desert to repose on roses, but they were travellers towards *a better country, that is, an heavenly*. The fears of the colony, from the hostility of the savages, gradually subsided. In consequence of petty animosities and internal hostilities, they could not be united in a general combination for the extirpation of the colony. The small-pox, and other epidemic disorders, greatly prevailed among them, by which immense numbers died. These events were considered by our fathers as the signal interpositions of Providence, by which, God was making room and preparing peace for his people.

In the commencement of all the individual settlements, the planters were mindful of their great errand into the wilderness, and directed their first exertions to the establishment of a church of Christ, and the institutions of the gospel. The first church, after the one at Salem, was gathered at Charlestown, on a day of solemn fast, August 27th, 1630. Soon after this, a church was organized at Dorchester. The next was at Boston. Soon after which, there was one at Roxbury, one at Lynn, and one at Water-

town. In less than two years from the organization of the first church, in Salem, there were in the colony, *seven churches*, which were indeed, *golden candlesticks*.

The colony continued to increase by fresh accessions of planters, emigrating, every year, from England. In 1633, came over Mr. Haynes, afterwards, the first governor of Connecticut, and Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker, and Mr. Stone, three of the most eminent lights of the New-England churches. Every year produced additions to the colony, by immigrants from the mother country, many of whom were persons of great merit and distinction, till about the year 1640. The civil wars, commencing in England at that time, put a general stop to emigration. The number of planters which came to New-England, from the commencement of the settlement to the year 1640, were computed at four thousand families. After that time, it was supposed that as many removed from New-England, to the mother country, as came from thence to the colonies. From this small number of original planters, have proceeded the many thousands of the inhabitants of the New-England States. We now enjoy the benefit of their labours, their wise institutions, and their noble example. We enjoy the benefit of their prayers, which are registered on high.

SECTION II.

SETTLEMENT OF THE COLONY OF CONNECTICUT....WAR
WITH THE PEQUOD INDIANS....FORMATION OF CHURCHES.

Soon after the settlements on the Massachusetts Bay had attained the consistence of a permanent colony, a considerable number of the original planters removed to Connecticut River, and laid the foundation of the colony of Connecticut. The settlement of Salem, by Governor Endicot, commenced in 1628. The settlement of Boston and the

towns adjacent, was in 1630. In 1631, an Indian sachem arrived at Boston from the River Connecticut, and presented a request to Governor Winthrop, that he would send a number of the English people to commence a settlement in his country, giving a very flattering account of its advantages, and making many promises of encouragement and supplies.* The governor, discovering that he was at war with a neighbouring sachem, and that his object was to engage the English in his controversy, dismissed him without any encouragement. This adventure, however, seems to have engaged the attention of the people and excited their inquiries concerning that part of the country.

But the first proper discovery of the country on Connecticut River, was made by the enterprising people of Plymouth. In their commercial intercourse with the Dutch, who had fixed at the mouth of the Hudson, they obtained some information concerning the Connecticut, and visited it several times for the purpose of trade with the natives. Finding this trade advantageous, in which, they procured great quantities of beaver, they contemplated the establishment of a trading-house on the river. Their ability being unequal to their enterprise, their object would, most probably, have been neglected, and the country fallen into some other hands than the pious pilgrims, had it not been for a particular incident, in the holy care of the God of our fathers. The Pequod Indians, a very powerful and warlike tribe, had long been at war with most of their neighbours. Some of the tribes on Connecticut River, having been much distressed by the Pequods, sent messengers to the colony of Plymouth, in the year 1633, to implore assistance against their oppressors. Mr. Bradford and Mr. Winslow, the two first characters in the colony, were deputed to the Massachusetts, and conferred with the governor on the subject of the request of the Connecticut Indians,

* In Gov. Winthrop's account of this transaction, the name of the river is spelled *Quonehticut*. This was probably according to the Indian pronunciation.

and the establishment of a trading-house on the river. As the Massachusetts government declined any interference in the case, the Plymouth people resolved to make an attempt of themselves. Accordingly, a vessel was fitted out with the frame and covering of a small house, which entered and sailed up the river, and the company erected their house on the south side of the mouth of Farmington River, in Windsor. This was in October 1633, and was the first house erected by Europeans on the river. As the company had some fears from the hostility of the natives, and were threatened by the Dutch, who intended to have taken possession of the river themselves; the house was secured in the best manner of which they were capable, and fortified with a palisado. A small tract of land was purchased of the Indians, and measures were taken to secure their friendship. As Holmes and his company erected this house by order of the government of Plymouth, and for the purposes of trade, we do not find that it was ever made a permanent residence.

It thus appears, that, in the Providence of God, the country on Connecticut River was, formally, offered to the people of Plymouth and Massachusetts, by the original and lawful proprietors, and that it was settled and possessed by the English, at their request. The same year in which the Plymouth trading-house was erected, John Oldham, and some others of Massachusetts, went through the wilderness to Connecticut River, and traded with the Indians. They were treated with much hospitality by the sachems, and, on their return, gave a very favourable account of the country.

By the constant influx of new settlers, driven from the mother country by the continuance of religious intolerance, and allured to New-England by the character of the infant colonies and the evident tokens of the special protection of Heaven, the towns in Massachusetts soon became apprehensive that their numbers would be too great for their convenient accommodation. The settlements were near to each other, and the people, like the first planters of all new

countries, inclined to occupy large tracts of land. By the arrival of the excellent Mr. Hooker, with many of his people, in the year 1633, who settled at Newtown, (now Cambridge,) that settlement became so numerous that it was found necessary to extend their limits considerably, or that a part of the inhabitants should remove to some other place. The latter expedient was preferred. The trade which had been opened to Connecticut River, gave opportunity to several persons to obtain some knowledge of that part of the country. That and other places were proposed for the commencement or a new plantation. The people at Dorchester, and the people at Watertown, finding themselves subjected to similar inconveniences, were also contemplating a removal. In June, 1634, several of the Newtown people were sent to the Merrimack River, to seek a proper place for a commodious settlement. Not satisfied with their report, the next month, six persons of that town sailed in a vessel which was bound to the Dutch colony, for the purpose of making a more particular examination of Connecticut River and the lands on its margin. It appears they returned with a favourable report.

The next fact to be mentioned, strongly marks the character of our venerable forefathers. Notwithstanding their fixed inclination to a removal, they felt that they had no right to separate from their brethren, without their consent. They had all embarked in one common cause, the establishment of a colony upon Christian principles, and the establishment of churches in the pure faith and order of the gospel. Their sentiment was, yea, and their practice too, that in this undertaking they all stood pledged to God and to one another, for the advancement of the true interests of the colony, which were to be determined by the proper authorities. Poets and orators have ever celebrated patriotism as one of the most illustrious virtues. And most nations have furnished a few individuals in whom this noble virtue has shone conspicuous. In the case before us, we behold a *people*, composed of the different

classes of society, unitedly, submitting one of the most important questions of human life, the place of habitation for themselves and their posterity, to the decision of their country. In this decision they could confide, because that country and all its interests were daily committed to the guidance of Infinite Wisdom. At a meeting of the General Court in September, 1634, the people of Newtown made application for liberty to remove to Connecticut River, and there commence a new plantation, expecting to continue subject to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. The matter was debated at considerable length, the Rev. Mr. Hooker acting as principal advocate for his people. In the issue, there was a difference of opinion in the General Court, but they refused to give their consent to the application. Governor Winthrop informs us that, in consequence of this decision, the design of removal was laid aside.

As new planters continued to arrive from England, and the reasons for the extension of the colony increased, in the following year, 1635, the people of Newtown, together with a principal part of the people at Dorchester and at Watertown, renewed their application for leave to remove to the Connecticut. At length, permission was granted, on condition that the new settlements should continue subject to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts.

The people of those three towns now began to prepare for their new habitation. They knew little of the country, and still less of the temper of the natives with whom they were to dwell. For the sake of a comfortable subsistence, but especially, for the sake of their posterity, they believed themselves called in the Providence of God, to go into a strange country, and having committed their ways to him, from the time that they left the land of their fathers, they could not be disobedient to the heavenly mandate. Indeed, they felt that they were strangers and sojourners on earth, and to the appointments of heaven they committed their dearest interests. The first character which they sustained was that of servants of the divine Redeemer. They knew the Master whom they served ;

and in the school of adversity they had learned to obey his will.

In the course of the season, several people went to Connecticut River, some by water, and some through the wilderness, and began to make improvements. The Dorchester men sat down at Windsor, near the Plymouth trading house. The building and land owned by the Plymouth people, they purchased. The people from Newtown, of whom but few removed till the following year, fixed their residence at Hartford. The Watertown settlers began the town of Wethersfield. About the middle of October, sixty people, men, women, and children, travelled through the wilderness and joined their friends who had made little beginnings on the river. They brought with them a number of cattle, and a small supply of provisions. They expected to continue through the approaching winter in their new settlements. But it pleased God, as in the first settlement of Plymouth and Massachusetts, to bring the constancy of the planters of Connecticut to the severest test. Plymouth for a few years, stood alone, a little rock in an unknown ocean of dangers; but excepting this impression, their real hardships and sufferings were, probably, not greater than those endured by our fathers of Connecticut. Through trials and labours innumerable they planted their habitations in *a land not sown*; their souls now rest with God.

By the twenty-fifth of November, Connecticut River was frozen over, heavy falls of snow succeeded, and the season was severely tempestuous and cold. The people had not had time to prepare even tolerable shelters for themselves or their cattle. Several small vessels, which had been laden with their furniture and provisions, sailed from Boston and were wrecked on the coast. If any arrived in the sound they could not ascend the river. The most of their cattle died, which was a very severe loss. A part of those which were brought by the Dorchester people, and were not got over the river before it was closed, remained in the open meadows, and the most of them

lived. One vessel returning from Connecticut was cast away, but the people after extreme sufferings got into Plymouth. Under the date of Nov. 26th, Governor Winthrop records in his Journal, "There came twelve men from Connecticut, they had been ten days upon their journey, and had lost one of their company, drowned under the ice by the way, and had been all starved, but that by God's Providence they lighted upon an Indian wigwam. Connecticut River was frozen up the 15th of this month."* Early in December, provisions, in each of the settlements began to fail. Disappointed of their expected supplies, the people looked upon one another with amazement. A long winter was before them, and it had commenced with unusual severity. The disposition of their savage neighbours was more than doubtful. They were *perplexed, but not in despair*. As the only means of preserving their lives, about seventy persons, men, women, and children, left their settlements and travelled down the river, in hopes of meeting with their provisions. As their expected vessels failed, they went on board a ship lying near the mouth of the river, which, by a sudden rain at that time, was released from its confinement in the ice, and were carried back to their former habitations. Governor Winthrop observes, "They came to Massachusetts in five days, which was a great mercy of God, for otherwise they had all perished with famine, as some did."—My readers will reflect, and not without emotion, Had not this ship been lying there at that time, while it had no connection with the settlements; had not a sudden thaw broken the ice at that cold season, and had not the ship made a quick passage to Boston, that consecrated band had all perished. So we say, Had not God preserved Jacob in Egypt, had he not often unnerved the arms of Canaan, his people had been destroyed. But he did do these things, and blessed be his name.—The few who remained in the respective plan-

* By the alteration of the Style, these dates fall about ten days later in the present time.

tations, to take care of the cattle and maintain their stations, subsisted with great difficulty. Notwithstanding all they could procure from the Indians and by hunting, they were compelled to feed upon acorns, malt, and grains.

Early in the year 1636, those who went from Connecticut to Massachusetts to spend the winter, with many others of their friends, began to return to their new habitations. The joyful meeting of their friends, who had been left under the most perilous prospects, with the joy of mutual thankfulness to their great Preserver, and the hope of seeing their settlements arise from their despondency, almost obliterated their past sufferings. That their lives had been so generally preserved, that they were now able to re-commence the great object of their desire, the planting of a new colony, they viewed as encouraging indications of divine Providence, in favour of their great design.—In the month of June, the Rev. Messrs. Hooker and Stone, with one hundred of the Newtown people, took their journey through the wilderness, with no guide but their compass, with no lodging for the night but such as was enjoyed by Jacob on his journey to Padan-aram, and, after encountering the thickets, the marshes, the mountains, and the rivers of the forest, about a fortnight after their departure arrived in safety at Hartford. Many who performed this tedious journey, were persons of distinction and fortune, who, in their native country, had been accustomed to enjoy the delicacies of affluence, and the refinements of polished life. But they were now engaged for Christ, and for him they cheerfully bore the burden, and submitted to the toil. Mrs. Hooker was carried the most of the way in a litter. The company drove with them a considerable number of cattle, and subsisted, in a great measure, on the milk which they afforded. Several smaller companies performed the journey through the wilderness in the course of the summer; while others were transported by water, and united with the rising plantations. Where nought had dwelt but savage beasts and savage men for ages, the traces of cultivated socie-

ty began to appear ; and, instead of pawaws of idolaters, the forests re-echoed the praises of redeeming love. It does not appear that the new settlements experienced any special sickness, or scarcity, in the course of this year. Divine Providence smiled on their labours.* Still, we are to view them in a trackless wilderness ; very little skilled in the manner of clearing forests ; wholly unacquainted with the nature of the soil from which they must derive their support ; destitute of any comfortable habitations, and in the vicinity of a powerful savage tribe, the terror of all their neighbours, who had given many indications of determined hostility to the English settlements. Mr. Haynes, who was governor of Massachusetts for the last year, came, this year, and settled at Hartford. Mr. Henry Wolcott, the ancestor of the family of that name, in this State, came this year, and settled at Windsor. He was a principal founder of that settlement.—Some troubles in Massachusetts, the present year, tended to increase the number of emigrants to Connecticut. Some of their churches were agitated with religious controversy. Mr. Henry Vane was the governor, a man of profound dissimulation, of the deepest hypocrisy, of imposing aspect, ever delighted with public commotions. He soon returned to England to the great favour of the colonies, and became one of the leading demagogues of the long parliament.

Towards the close of the year 1635, Mr. Winthrop, son of the Massachusetts governor, the worthy character who, afterwards, procured the Connecticut Charter, arrived at Boston, with an ample commission, from Lord Say, Lord Brook, and others, to take possession of the mouth of Connecticut River, and to erect a fort. He was well provided with means for the accomplishment of the object. The work was commenced that season, and, in the year following, the fort was completed, and a few houses were erected for the accommodation of inhabitants. This fortress

* It is storied in tradition that some of their corn produced at the rate of *one hundred* bushels per acre.

proved a very great security to the settlements on the river.

At the close of the year 1636, it is estimated that the three settlements and the fort contained about one hundred and fifty families. These lived in great union and harmony, supported under their many privations with a humble confidence in God, and animated with the prospect of the enjoyments of future years.

This year, 1636, Mr. Pyncheon, with a part of the people of Roxbury, began the settlement of the town of Springfield. This was, for a few years, united with the other towns on the river.

The spring of the year 1637, opened upon the new plantations with peculiar gloom. Their provisions were of a coarse and unpalatable quality, and of these they had a very scanty supply. Their cattle, which were a great dependence, unprovided with suitable shelters for such severe winters, and unsupplied with any forage but the coarse hay which was the spontaneous production of the meadows, in a great measure, failed them. Many of them died; and those that lived became almost useless. With farming utensils the people were very poorly provided; teams and ploughs they had next to none. Every article of necessity bore a very high price. By a particular statement of Governor Winthrop, we are assured that, at this time, a good cow was valued at twenty-five pounds sterling; a pair of oxen, forty pounds; and corn at five shillings the bushel. The difference in the value of money at that time and the present, may be estimated by another fact which he mentions. To prevent impositions and difficulty, in the year 1633, the General Court, fixed the price of labour; carpenters and master mechanics were to receive two shillings a day; and ordinary labourers, eighteen pence. If, according to the rule given by most political writers, we make the price of labour the standard of estimation, we shall find things in their comparative value, to have been nearly three times higher at that time, than at the present.--The country being in a state of na-

ture, every thing was to be done. Roads must be opened, public and private buildings must be erected, and, in every settlement, there must be some fortress for security in times of danger. In addition to all these evils, sufficient to have overwhelmed any other people than those whose confidence is on high, they had a most certain prospect of a terrible Indian war. A war of savages is always a war of extermination and torture. They sunk not under their prospects, for they were sustained by the arm of the mighty God of Jacob.

The Pequod war is too interesting an event in the first settlement of this State, to be passed without a particular relation. The Pequod Indians, a very savage and warlike tribe, held, at this time, an ascendancy over all the neighbouring tribes. Uncommonly ferocious and cruel, they appear to have been in a state of hostility with all of their neighbours, who would not submit to their controul. They could raise probably five hundred warriors; the most of them long skilled in the craft and cruelty of savage warfare. Their principal seat was near Pequod River, now the Thames. The settlements of the English in Plymouth and Massachusetts, and especially the new plantations of Connecticut, were viewed by these Indians with a jealous eye; and they were constantly devising plans for their extirpation.

In the year 1634, a vessel belonging to Massachusetts was violently seized by Indians in connection with the Pequods, and all the crew, consisting of eight men, were massacred. The year following, Mr. Oldham, a very useful man in the colonies, was taken by them and put to death. In 1636, Gov. Endicot, was sent from Massachusetts, with ninety volunteers, to obtain satisfaction, or avenge those murders. After assaulting the Indians, destroying many of their huts, and killing a number of their men, they returned. This measure, instead of allaying, seemed to increase their hostility. Towards the close of the year, several persons were taken and killed near Saybrook fort, and the garrison was almost in a state of constant

siege. Those who were taken prisoners, were tortured with savage barbarity. In the spring of 1637, other murders were committed near Saybrook; and a party of the enemy attacked a number of people at Wethersfield, killed nine and carried off two captives. They also killed a considerable number of cattle. At a court held at Hartford, the first of May, consisting of the Magistrates and Committees from the three towns, it was determined to carry on an offensive war, immediately, against the Pequods. Notwithstanding the impoverished state of the colony, ninety men, the number voted, were raised, provided with necessaries, and sat out on their expedition, the tenth of the same month. The court had previously sent to Massachusetts, and that colony and Plymouth were raising men for an effectual co-operation.

This little band, with whom, parents, wives, and children risked their all, was put under the command of Capt. Mason of Windsor, who had served in the English armies. They sailed to the mouth of the river, when, being joined by a small detachment from the fort, a part of their number were to be sent back for the security of the settlements. They then sailed to the Narraganset Bay, eastward of the seat of the Pequods. Having landed his troops, Capt. Mason marched through the country of the friendly Indians, by many of whom he was joined on his march, to assist in the destruction of the common enemy. At this time Capt. Mason heard of a detachment from Massachusetts, on their way to join him. But the hope of surprising the enemy induced him to make no delay. His principal guides were some friendly Indians, and they did not deceive him. After a fatiguing march of two days through the woods, they arrived, on the evening of the 25th of May, within three or four miles of Mystic Fort, which was the principal seat of the Pequods. On some part of his march, Capt. Mason was attended with two or three hundred Indians; but as he approached the enemy, they deserted him, or fell so far in the rear, that he found he must depend upon his own men, who amounted

to only seventy-seven. The army encamped for the night, and by divine favour, no news of their approach reached the enemy.

The crisis had now arrived, when the existence or the extirpation of the infant colony was to be determined : When they were to triumph in peace, or perish in the hands of merciless savages. Rome staked less in the war with the Sabines, and Sparta at Thermopylae, than was now hazarded by this feeble colony, on the event of a battle. And this was to be determined, under God, by the fidelity of seventy-seven brave men. On the morning of the 26th of May, this consecrated band were roused before day, and having briefly commended themselves and their great cause to God, they marched to the foot of a hill, which was topped by the fortress of the enemy. As the object they had long sought, by the dawn of the morning, now rose to their view, the savage cruelties of the enemy rushed upon the mind, the recollection that they were to fight for parents and children impressed every heart, their bosoms glowed with martial ardour, heaven nerved every arm for the combat. Profound sleep held the savages, till the assailants were within two rods of the fort. The sentinel then roared the alarm, and the attack commenced. The English discharged their pieces through the palisades, and instantly entered the fort. The thunder and blaze of the fire arms roused and appalled the enemy. But they soon rallied, the assault was hand to hand, and the conflict was terrible. The arrows of the enemy flew from innumerable lurking places, and, after a considerable time, and unparalleled exertions, the victory was still doubtful. Capt. Mason called out to *burn the fort*. He instantly fired one of the wigwags which were very combustible, and, shortly, all was in a blaze. The English army retired, surrounded the fort, and suffered none to escape.—In this work of destruction, which was soon completed, six hundred Indians perished. As soon as the victors could reach the harbour, at the mouth of the river, their vessels, guided by an unseen hand,

were sailing in to take them on board. Two of their men were killed, and nearly twenty wounded. Capt. Mason had a very providential escape. About the last of May, this band of patriots returned in safety to their respective habitations. Never did Roman triumph afford such unsullied joy ; never did a more grateful incense of thanksgiving ascend to the Lord of Sabaoth. The annals of war scarcely furnish an expedition, for conduct, valour and success, to be equalled with this.

The troops from Massachusetts and Plymouth soon arrived, and, being joined by a few from Connecticut, the remaining Pequods were pursued, their other fortress was destroyed, and the tribe wholly subdued. A general fast had been appointed in Massachusetts, on account of the Pequod war and some other objects. The day after this fast, the Mystic fort was destroyed.—After the termination of this war, the colonies had rest from Indian enemies for a number of years. The war impoverished and distressed the Connecticut colony, but in the enjoyment of peace and the divine blessings, they soon increased in numbers and prosperity.

The people of this colony, finding that they were not included in the grant to the colony of Massachusetts, in the year 1639, formed a constitution of civil government, and, at the election in April, Mr. Haynes was chosen governor. The constitution then formed, is the basis of all the civil privileges which we still enjoy.

The company which commenced the settlement of Dorchester, consisting of Mr. Rossiter, Mr. Ludlow, Mr. Wolcott, and others, a little before their embarkation from England, in the spring of 1630, were organized as a congregational church, in the town of Plymouth. They immediately chose the Rev. Mr. Warham, and the Rev. Mr. Maverick, for their ministers ; who, accordingly, received the charge of the church. This was done on a day of solemn fasting and prayer. The Rev. Mr. White, of Dorchester, the great patron of the New-England colonies, assisted and preached on the occasion. As the most of the

members of this church, with Mr. Warham, removed from Dorchester to Windsor, it was never re-organized. Mr. Maverick intended to remove with his people, but while preparing for his journey, he died in Boston, Feb. 1636. In 1639, the Rev. Mr. Huet, with a number of settlers, came from England and settled in Windsor, and united with Mr. Warham in the ministry.

The people of Watertown, were organized in church state, soon after their arrival in the country, in July, 1630. Their covenant is preserved by Dr. Mather. This was on a day of public fasting and prayer, appointed for the purpose. The Rev. Mr. Phillips became their minister. This, afterwards, was the church at Wethersfield, though Mr. Phillips never removed to Connecticut. The Rev. Mr. Prudden, who afterwards settled at Milford, was their first Minister.

The church at Newtown was never gathered till after the arrival of Mr. Hooker, their long expected, and much beloved pastor. He and Mr. Stone, arrived in the summer of 1633. Oct. 11th of that year, on a day of solemn fasting, the church at Newtown was gathered, and they chose Mr. Hooker for their pastor, and Mr. Stone for their teacher, who were accordingly set apart to their respective duties. The most of these people enjoyed the eminent ministry of Mr. Hooker, in England. This church, with their ministers, removed to Hartford in the year 1636.—The Fort at Saybrook, had for a chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Higginson, son of the eminent Mr. Higginson, the first minister at Salem.

These churches and ministers were eminent advocates of those distinguishing doctrines of the gospel, called the doctrines of grace; they were faithful friends of experimental religion; they were humble patterns of practical piety. In this character, they laid the foundation of our Ecclesiastical institutions, of our peaceful and united churches. May the Almighty God, in his adorable grace, long remember their humble prayers, in behalf of their posterity.

SECTION III.

SETTLEMENT OF THE COLONY OF NEW-HAVEN....OF NEW-HAMPSHIRE....OF RHODE-ISLAND....OF THE DISTRICT OF MAINE....OF VERMONT.

HAVING given some account of the establishment of the colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts, and Connecticut; we now proceed to a sketch of the rise of the colony of New-Haven. This was a fourth colony, which, with the other three, were united in a permanent confederation, for their mutual protection and common benefit. This union of these separate governments, founded upon a similarity of character, was the source of that steady prosperity, that peculiar harmony, and of many of those eminently wise institutions, by which the New-England states have been so long distinguished,

One of the original Patentees of the colony of Massachusetts, and a great patron of the New-England settlements, was Theophilus Eaton. He was an eminent merchant in London, engaged in the India trade, had been employed in important services for the government, and held a high rank in the East-India Company. At the emigration of Governor Winthrop and his company, who established the colony of Massachusetts, it does not appear that Mr. Eaton had any design of coming to America. Though he afforded much assistance to the infant plantation, being engaged in extensive mercantile business, he chose to remain in his native country.

Mr. John Davenport, a minister in London, not less distinguished for strength of genius and extensive learning, than for ardent piety, unwilling to submit to the arbitrary impositions of the ecclesiastical establishment, could not escape the jealous vigilance of Laud, at that time Bishop of London. To avoid the indignation of prelatie tyranny, in the year 1633, he went over to Holland. He had been an active instrument in obtaining the patent for the

colony of Massachusetts, though, at his express desire, his name was not inserted as one of the patentees. Hearing, while in exile, of the prosperity and the divine blessing which attended the New-England settlements, he meditated a removal to America. On his return to England, Mr. Eaton, who had enjoyed the benefit of his eminent ministry in London, determined to accompany Mr. Davenport in an emigration to the western wilderness. Mr. Eaton, Mr. Hopkins, afterwards Governor of Connecticut, Mr. Davenport, and a considerable number of worthy opulent planters, arrived in Boston, in June 1637. The two former are thus characterized by Gov. Winthrop, at the time of their arrival: "Mr. Eaton and Mr. Hopkins, two merchants of London, men of fair estate, and of great esteem for religion, and wisdom in outward affairs." Mr. Eaton is thought to have possessed the greatest fortune, and the most extensive acquaintance with business, of any of the fathers of New-England.

Mr. Eaton, Mr. Davenport, and their company were inclined to commence a new plantation, and lay the foundation of a separate colony. Though the most advantageous offers were made them by the government of Massachusetts, to choose any place within their jurisdiction, they preferred a place without the limits of the existing colonies. They, accordingly, fixed upon New-Haven for the place of their future habitation, and in the spring of 1638, began the settlement of that pleasant town. President Dwight, in his able and judicious "Statistical Account of the City of New-Haven," gives the names of the first principal settlers, and an account of the purchase of their lands from the Indian proprietors. This purchase was made for a valuable consideration.—"On the 4th of June, 1639, the planters formed their constitution. On the 5th of October following, they organized their government, when Mr. Eaton was chosen governor. By the general court, which sat Sept. 5th, 1640, Quinnipiack was named *New-Haven*."* In the early times of the

New-England colonies, no one was so much distinguished for good order and internal tranquillity, as the colony of New-Haven. Mr. Eaton and Mr. Davenport were the fathers of the plantation, and their influence, founded on their personal worth and unshaken fidelity to the best interests of the settlement, was never diminished. Mr. Eaton was annually elected governor till his death, in 1657. In their intercourse with the natives, the government ever conducted with such wisdom and integrity, that the colony suffered very little from Indian hostility. The principal planters possessed so much property, and conducted the affairs of the colony with such discretion, that the settlement never experienced any special sufferings from want.

The first planters of New-Haven, having been bred in mercantile employments, were enclined to engage in the pursuits of commerce. With that view, they fixed their settlement at a port selected for that purpose. In these pursuits, they sustained many severe losses. Particularly in the loss of a new ship of 150 tons, freighted with a valuable cargo, and manned with seamen and passengers from many of the best families in the colony, which foundered at sea, in the year 1647. This severe loss discouraged, for a time their commercial pursuits, and engaged their attention more particularly, in the employments of agriculture.

In addition to the town of New-Haven, several other flourishing settlements were soon commenced, which were included in this colony. In 1639, commenced the settlement of the towns of Milford and Guilford. Stamford was settled in 1641. Soon after which, began the town of Branford. Some settlements on Long-Island, cotemporary with these, were included in the colony of New-Haven.

The confederation of the united colonies took place in 1643 ; in the accomplishment of which most important object, Governor Eaton performed a very distinguished part.

Mr. Hopkins, who emigrated from England in company with Mr. Eaton and Mr. Davenport, settled at Hartford at

the same time that the others fixed at New-Haven, and became one of the most useful and eminent characters in Connecticut. The intimate friendship which subsisted between Mr. Hopkins and Mr. Eaton, was of great advantage to the two colonies.

Like the other colonies of New-England, that of New-Haven was planted with a special view to the honour of the divine Saviour, and the enjoyment of the pure religion of the gospel. Mr. Davenport often remarked, before his emigration to America, that he found no churches willing to advance in gospel light and ecclesiastical improvement, any further than the limits attained by their first reformers. That the Lutheran churches, by all the discoveries of subsequent periods could never be persuaded to make any improvement upon the articles of faith or practice, established by the great Reformer, whose name they bear. That the churches founded on the principles of Calvin, had made no useful advances since that eminent divine was removed from them. That the Church of England could not be persuaded to admit any improvement on the sentiments of Cranmer and the other English Reformers. Despairing, therefore, of seeing any Christian church in Europe regulated according to what he believed to be the pure precepts and doctrines of Christ, he resolved, with his pious coadjutors, to attempt, in the American wilderness, the establishment of such a church as they had long hoped to see. They believed also, that a state of society could be formed, and civil government maintained in conformity to divine precept, in which a great part of the imperfections of all human governments might be avoided. At least, they believed the faithfulness of God, in aid of the purest intentions, authorized the hope of realizing these animating anticipations. It is not to be denied that there was something Utopian in these prospects ; still it is no more than justice to say that, probably, mankind have never witnessed a greater approximation to the perfection of human society, than was realized by these illustrious Christian patriots. The mode of organizing their churches was

original and peculiarly interesting. When a church was to be gathered, the persons proposing to unite in Christian covenant, elected seven of their number, those who were most esteemed for their religious attainments to stand as *pillars* of the church. This idea was suggested, in part, from the sacred passage, Prov. ix. 1. *Wisdom hath builded her house, she hath hewn out her seven pillars.* To the persons composing the seven pillars, the others were added, who became members of the church. The greatest efforts were made to establish the churches in the pure faith and uncorrupted practice of Christ and his apostles, and to guard them from any future deviation from that purity in which they were constituted. And this was done, certainly, with a most accurate knowledge of the Scriptures, an extensive acquaintance with the general history of the church, and a clear perception of the human character. Their sentiments concerning church communion, were essentially similar to those which have been since advocated by President Edwards, and are now generally approved by the ministers and churches in this State.

These churches long continued in great harmony and prosperity, enjoying the blessings of heaven, and the gracious presence of the Holy Spirit. The church at New-Haven enjoyed the ministry of Mr. Davenport as pastor, and Mr. Eaton, brother of the governor, as teacher. The first minister at Milford was Mr. Prudden. The church at Guilford had Mr. Whitfield as pastor, and Mr. Higginson as teacher. Mr. Denton was minister at Stamford. The pastor of the church at Branford was Mr. Pierson, who had for an assistant, Mr. Bruce. The most of these were eminent ministers of Christ, distinguished for ministerial gifts, extensive learning, practical wisdom, and fervent piety.

The constitution of their church, and of their civil government, was formed by the people of New-Haven, at the same time. Indeed, it was considered as one and the same transaction. The persons selected for the seven pillars, after constituting the church, proceeded in the same

manner to the organization of the government. Members of the churches only, were freemen of the colony. No human association has existed, more deserving of the appellation of a Christian republic than this. Their posterity now reap the rich harvest of their labours and their prayers.

The colony of New-Hampshire, which now holds a distinguished rank among the New-England States, though its settlement began at a very early period, did not become a separate colony till many years after that settlement commenced. Capt. Smith, of Virginia, who sailed along the shores of New-England in 1614, and published a chart of the coast, with some account of the country, discovered the river Piscataqua. He found the river to be large, the harbor capacious and safe, and gave a favourable representation of the place as a site for a new plantation.

Gorges and Masen, two members of the council of Plymouth, in England, having obtained from the council a grant of that tract of country, attempted the establishment of a colony and fishery at the river Piscataqua. In the spring of the year 1623, they sent over a few persons for this purpose, who sat down on the south side of the river near its mouth, and there fixed a temporary residence. This was the beginning of the excellent and flourishing town of Portsmouth. The same year, two of the company erected a fish-house at the place of the present town of Dover. These settlements, for several years, were small, and scarcely permanent. In 1629, some of the settlers about the Massachusetts-Bay wishing to unite with the settlement at Piscataqua, they assembled the chiefs of several Indian tribes at Squamscot falls, now Exeter, and, for a valuable consideration, made a purchase of an extensive tract of land. In the instrument of conveyance, the natives express a "desire to have the English come and settle among them, as among their countrymen in Massachusetts." After this purchase, the planta-

tion had a moderate increase, but no new settlements were made till the year 1638, which was the beginning of the towns of Exeter and Hampton.

The people at Dover early erected a convenient meeting-house, which was afterwards improved as a fortification. A church was soon organized, of a character similar to the churches in the neighbouring colonies; and Mr. William Leverich, a worthy and able puritan divine, came from England in 1633, and became their minister. The settlement at Portsmouth, in their infant state, erected a house for divine worship, and enjoyed, successively, the labours of several faithful ministers. The ministry of one of these, Mr. James Parker, was attended with much success. But the town had no settled minister till a number of years after its settlement.

The people who made the settlement of Exeter, in 1638, were mostly from Boston. Having been regularly dismissed from the church in that town, they immediately united in a church relation, on the principles of their mother church. As they judged their settlement to be without the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, they formed themselves into a body politic, chose rulers and assistants, who were sworn to the proper execution of their respective offices, and a correspondent oath of obedience was taken by the people. In this political compact we have an instance of civil government in its simplest, perhaps, in its purest form. The magistrates, who were few, were vested with legislative, judicial, and executive authority. The settlements at Portsmouth and Dover, for several years, were governed, principally, by agents sent over by the proprietors in England. Having experienced many inconveniences from this mode of government, they, separately, formed a civil compact, after the example of their neighbours at Exeter, enacted and enforced their own laws. The combination at Dover was similar to the one at Exeter; at Portsmouth they had a chief magistrate, annually elected, stiled a governor.

These settlements for many years, lived peaceably with the natives, and, from their great advantages for fishery, experienced less of the evils of famine than the neighbouring colonies. Placed in distinct civil communities, they soon found themselves exposed to a variety of difficulties, and peculiarly defenceless in the event of trouble from an enemy. Their corporations were necessarily weak, and exposed to the intrusion of vagrants and outlaws, who would not submit to the steady government which was maintained in the colonies of Massachusetts and Plymouth. Had these political combinations been left to the management of their original framers and their posterity, they might have exhibited an example of the finest republics on historic record. But the constant influx of immigrants, and of demagogues invited by their weakness, rendered this expectation hopeless. These considerations induced the settlements to desire a union with the colony of Massachusetts. The subject having been for some time in agitation, in the year 1641, the settlements on and near the Piscataqua, submitted to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, on condition of enjoying equal privileges with the people of that colony, and having a court of justice maintained among themselves. They were cordially accepted by that government, and thus, by a solemn compact, became a part of the colony of Massachusetts.—From this time, the settlements advanced in a more rapid progress, and in greater security ; and their civil and ecclesiastical history becomes one with the colony of which they now constituted a respectable portion. This union continued till the year 1679, when, by the authority of the King of Great Britain, New-Hampshire was separated from the government of Massachusetts, and became a royal province.

One of the most prominent characters in the early history of New-England, was Roger Williams. He was a man of considerable ability and learning, active and diligent in his pursuits, humane and benevolent in his character,

ever fond of novelty and change. Previous to his coming to America, Mr. Williams was a minister in the Church of England. He came to New-England in the year 1631, and resided two years at Plymouth. He there exercised his ministerial functions, occasionally, to good acceptance. During his residence at Plymouth, his conduct was inoffensive, and his character naturally mild, so that he ever after retained the esteem of the people of that colony. In 1633, he removed to Salem, and, on the death of their excellent minister, Mr. Skelton, the church in that town invited Mr. Williams to become their pastor. During his connection with the church at Salem, Mr. Williams inculcated many opinions which were disapproved by the government and churches of the colony, which it was thought would prejudice their interests in the view of the mother country, and destroy that system of civil and ecclesiastical polity on which the colony existed. After much faithful and friendly dealing, Mr. Williams being unwilling to renounce or conceal the sentiments which he entertained, in 1635, he was directed by the government to depart from the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. He removed with a few followers, and sat down within the Plymouth jurisdiction, in the present town of Rehoboth. The year following, at the desire of Governor Winslow, lest the government of Massachusetts should take umbrage at his remaining within the Plymouth jurisdiction, he crossed the Pawtucket River, and, with about twenty settlers, laid the foundation of the present opulent and flourishing town of Providence. These dissensions were conducted in such a manner, that no personal alienation appears to have taken place between Mr. Williams and Governor Winthrop, and a constant interchange of good offices existed between the Providence Plantation and the Massachusetts and Plymouth colonies. In the war with the Pequods in 1637, there was a cordial co-operation of all the plantations against the common enemy. Probably no individual of the age made greater and more successful exertions to maintain the peace of the colonies with the natives; and,

living in the vicinity of several powerful tribes, he was vigilant in discovering their designs, and gave the other colonies timely notice of their hostile machinations.

Mr. Williams, for some years, established no particular church order, inviting persons of all religious sentiments to unite with his rising plantation. After a few years, he and several of his people renounced the baptism of their infancy, were re-baptized, and united in a church, which was, I believe, the first Baptist church in New-England. On account of differences of sentiment which, subsequently, prevailed in the church, in the year 1653, it was divided and became two churches.—Mr. Williams purchased the lands of his plantation of the Indian proprietors, and no man enjoyed their confidence in a higher degree. He was the father of the colony, and, for some time, he appears to have possessed and exercised the principal powers of government which existed. In some of the first years of the Providence plantation the people suffered very sensibly from scarcity. The product of their forests and rivers saved them from perishing by famine. The most of the fathers of New-England experienced the evils of war and famine, in a degree to which their posterity are unable to form any adequate conception.

At the time of the banishment of Mrs. Hutchinson from Massachusetts, several people who had favoured her religious opinions, and of course, differed in principle from the prevailing sentiments of the churches, chose to remove from the colony. One of these was Mr. William Coddington; a gentleman of education and affluence, who had been for several years an assistant, and one of the most worthy magistrates of the Massachusetts government. In the year 1633, Mr. Coddington with a few others, removed to Narraganset Bay, and commenced the settlement of Rhode-Island. These planters immediately, united in a civil compact, to which Mr. Coddington and seventeen others subscribed their names. This infant plantation furnishes an instance of something of the simplicity and natural existence of a patriarchal government.

Mr. Coddington, a man of great virtue and natural dignity of character, possessing the confidence of all, was created their magistrate, to whom were delegated the necessary powers of civil government. By the friendly assistance of Mr. Williams, he purchased the Island of the Indians, and in consequence of its pleasantness and fertility, in a few years, it became a flourishing settlement. In the year 1644, a Baptist church was formed in Newport, which was afterwards divided into two. A congregational church was formed in Newport in 1720; and a second one, in 1728. These two churches afterwards enjoyed the ministry of two of the most eminent American divines of the last century, President Stiles and Dr. Hopkins.

These settlements being destitute of any chartered government from the mother country, in 1643, Mr Williams went to England, and by the assistance of Mr. Vane, who had been governor of Massachusetts, obtained a liberal charter of incorporation of Providence and Rhode-Island Plantations. The form of government provided by this incorporation was essentially similar to that established in the adjacent colonies. Mr. Williams lived to a great age, and was chosen several times governor of the colony.

As early as the year 1607, some of the Patentees of the northern colony of Virginia began a settlement at the mouth of the river Sagadahock, now Kennebeck. They laid the plan of an extensive and opulent state. But in consequence of the death of the principal patrons, and the severities endured by the planters, the settlement broke up the following year, and those who were living returned to England. The first permanent settlements made within the District of Maine, commenced about the year 1630. The oldest towns are Kittery and York. In the year 1635, Sir Ferdinando Gorges obtained from the council of Plymouth a grant of the tract of land lying between the rivers Sagadahock and Piscataqua. It is supposed that he instituted civil government in the province. Courts were held as early as 1636, who appear to have exercised

legislative and judicial powers. In 1639, Gorges obtained from the Crown a charter, conveying the amplest powers of jurisdiction. He appointed a governor and council who administered justice to the people to their general satisfaction, for a number of years. After the death of the proprietor, these powers of government were generally supposed to have expired. The different settlements formed some kind of voluntary compacts, and elected their own rulers. But the people, soon perceiving the inconveniences of this state of things, in the year 1652, united with the government of Massachusetts, and became an integral part of that Colony.

In the first settlements, churches were early established, who enjoyed the labours of some of the worthiest ministers of their time. In general, their early civil and religious institutions were very similar to those of Massachusetts.

No part of New-England has suffered so much from the hostility of the natives, as the District of Maine. Many ferocious tribes of savages, were settled on the rivers with which the country abounds, and from the small progress made by the settlements for a long period, they were unable to subdue their power, or prevent their predatory incursions. From the proximity of that district to Canada, in all the wars between England and France for a century after its first settlement, they were exposed to the hostile incursions of the savages, stimulated by a most artful and unfeeling enemy. Many of their towns have been pilaged and burnt, and many of the people made captives and slain. So late as the war of 1745, many of the towns suffered severely from savage hostility.

The State of Vermont, the youngest of the New-England States, has advanced in population and wealth more rapidly, than either of the others, and holds a respectable rank in their number. The tract of country composing that state, lying between the states of New-Hampshire and New-York, to which both laid an imperfect claim,

remained long unoccupied. In the year 1724, in the time of a severe Indian war, the government of Massachusetts erected Fort Dummer, within the present town of Brattleborough, and commenced a small settlement near the fort. This was then supposed to be within the limits of Massachusetts ; but, on running the province lines in 1741, it fell within the state of Vermont. In the year 1731, the French from Canada erected the well-built fort at Crown Point, on the west side of Lake Champlain, and, soon after began a settlement on the eastern side of the lake opposite to the fort.

From the time in which the provincial line between Massachusetts and New-Hampshire was ascertained, till after the peace of 1763, when it became a subject of controversy, the territory of Vermont was considered as belonging to New-Hampshire. The town of Bennington, as it is one of the best, is considered the oldest town in the state. This township was granted to certain proprietors, in the year 1749, by the Governor* of New-Hampshire, and called after his name. Soon after this grant, the settlement of that town commenced. In four or five of the following years, a few other towns were granted by the government of New-Hampshire, on the western side of Connecticut River. The war of 1755 put a stop to these grants and settlements. In the progress of that war, the territory of Vermont became the scene of military operations. These events produced a general acquaintance with many parts of the country, and towards the conclusion of the war, extensive grants of townships were made by the New-Hampshire government, and numerous openings were made in the wilderness. From 1764 to the commencement of the American war, the new settlers were harassed with conflicting claims to their territory, maintained by the provinces of New-Hampshire and New-York. Notwithstanding these embarrassments the infant settlements gradually increased by emigrations

* Benning Wentworth.

from the several New-England provinces. At the commencement of the war of 1775, the people of Vermont warmly espoused the American cause, and during its continuance performed many important services. As the authority of the royal governments became disavowed, the people finding themselves wholly destitute of any bonds of civil government, public sentiment naturally adverted to the necessity of some political regulations for the general safety. There having been several conventions of committees of towns, to deliberate on measures to be pursued, in January, 1777, a convention of delegates from the respective towns, held at Westminster, resolved that the territory now included in that state, should "be considered as a free and independent jurisdiction or state: to be for ever hereafter called, known, and distinguished, by the name of New-Connecticut, alias Vermont." From this period, Vermont became an independent state; and in 1791, was admitted a member of the American union.

The settlers of Vermont were mostly emigrants from Connecticut, and for several years after the peace of 1783, their number increased with an unprecedented rapidity. Their civil and religious institutions were generally copied from those existing in Connecticut. A congregational church was early established at Bennington, and continued many years under the ministry of the pious and worthy Mr. Dewey. In most of the towns, churches were established at an early period of their settlement, who have enjoyed the labours of many able and faithful ministers of Christ. The churches and ministers in Vermont have been remarkable for uniformity in religious sentiment and practice; conformable to the Calvinistic system, and to the doctrines of the gospel so ably vindicated by several New-England divines of the last century. The late Dr. Job Swift, who has been stiled The Apostle of Vermont, not more distinguished for abilities and piety than for indefatigable labours, was an eminent instrument of organizing and establishing the churches and religious institutions of the state, was an unshaken

pillar of divine truth, and, in the midst of his labours in the service of his Master and his fellow-men, was suddenly removed to his eternal rest. The churches and people of the state have been favoured with many gracious manifestations of the special influences of the Holy Spirit, in reviving the interests of vital religion, and bringing many souls into the holy kingdom of the Redeemer.

Probably no instance can be found in the history of men, where all public institutions, of a civil, moral and religious character, are held so entirely, under the constant controul of public sentiment, as in the state of Vermont. It is earnestly hoped, that through the merciful favour of Heaven, that people may be long worthy of the possession of the many privileges which they now enjoy.

SECTION IV.

PROGRESS OF THE COLONIES....THEIR CONNECTION WITH
THE MOTHER COUNTRY....THEIR EXERTIONS TO CHRIS-
TIANIZE THE INDIANS....POLITICAL REGULATIONS....UNION
OF THE NEW-ENGLAND COLONIES....ECCLESIASTICAL CON-
STITUTIONS.

In the preceding Sections we have given some account of the first planting of the several New-England Colonies. We have seen something of the motives with which this work was undertaken, of the difficulties through which it was accomplished, and have been enabled to form some idea of the character of those venerable fathers by whom it was performed. It will comport with our plan to give some account of the progress of these plantations, at least, during the period of the first generation. In the events of forty or fifty years from the first planting of the colonies, we discover the beginnings of those institutions and customs which are now the foundation of all our social happiness.

Three things, principally, engaged the attention of the early colonists of New-England. Their connection with their mother country, their intercourse with the Indian natives, and their internal welfare. These, we shall separately consider. The present, however, will be, chiefly, historical narration. Remarks will be reserved for future Sections.

With respect to their connection with the mother country, the first planters were agitated with a variety of conflicting feelings, with much solicitude, and with no small degree of trouble. The greater part of them left their native land in consequence of the oppressions of ecclesiastical tyranny, and for the sake of the enjoyment of those privileges of which they were there deprived. These circumstances produced in the colonists, a coldness of affection towards the parent country, which could not, easily, be forgotten. A correspondent jealousy was necessarily produced in the government of England, towards the colonies. A strong attachment to all the punctilios of episcopacy, a perseverance in the high-handed measures of prelacy, and an irreconcilable opposition to the principles of the Puritans, long continued to be the leading principles of the administration. The bigoted King James, who died in 1625, before the commencement of any of the colonies excepting that of Plymouth, was succeeded by his son Charles I. With greater ability to execute his purposes, he was no less an enemy to civil and religious liberty than his father. Early in his reign rose the famous Archbishop Laud, who, for many years, had a principal share in the administration. The ecclesiastical interests of the nation were almost entirely under his controul. Laud was superstitious, an inexorable tyrant, and an implacable enemy to all evangelical religion. The English government never discovered a greater enmity to the Puritans, than during his administration. In the early part of Charles's reign, Laud was bishop of London; in 1633, he was made archbishop of Canterbury, which place he held till his death, in 1644. The principles

held by the New-England colonists on the subject of civil government, were not less obnoxious to the abettors of tyranny than their religious sentiments. These circumstances, for many years, exposed the colonies to constant apprehensions from the resentments of the mother country.

On the other hand, the first planters of New-England always looked to Great Britain as to the land of their fathers, as the country of their birth, and the place of all the attachments of their early years. Their breasts ever glowed with that natural and ardent attachment to their native land, which from the affections of good men, can never be eradicated. They rejoiced that they were born in a land of freedom, that they were heirs to the hereditary privileges of the English constitution, that they were bred in the bosom of the protestant church. They claimed no more privileges, civil or religious, than they conceived to pertain to the birth-right of Englishmen, and, while ever ready to own an allegiance, they wished for the protection of the parent state.

The civil rights which were secured to the colonies by their respective Patents, were all which they claimed. These indeed were most ample, and well suited to their circumstances. Many efforts were made by their enemies to induce the government to resume these Patents, to grant others with extensive privileges. Of this measure, the colonies were in constant apprehension; for a number of years after their first settlement. One part of the plan of their enemies was that a general governor should be appointed by the Crown to whom all the New-England colonies should be subject, who would be amenable to the government of the mother country. The apprehension of such an event gave the colonies great concern. One principal motive with the colony of New-Haven, in settling so far from their neighbours, was that by being so much extended, the colonies would be less likely to be subjected to the controul of a general governor.

About the time that the first adventurers sailed from England for Plymouth, they received a verbal intimation.

from the government, that they should not be molested in the free exercise of their religion. It seems to have been understood by the succeeding emigrants, that the same privilege should be enjoyed ; yet there was no stipulated engagement on which they could rely. Of course, they were under constant, and, at times, strong apprehensions, that the order of their churches would be broken up, that they should be subjected to all the vexations of prelatic tyranny.

The peculiar and well known character of the colonies, their firm adherence to the precepts of divine truth, their steady resistance of any deviation from their first principles, and their noble stand in the cause of civil and religious liberty, raised a host of enemies against them. Every unprincipled man, who came over for the sake of gratifying his ambition, finding himself disappointed in his expectations, became an enemy to all their institutions. Many of these returned to England, and employed all the arts of misrepresentation and subtlety, to effect a change in the existing order of the colonies. As the character of the colonies produced constant emigrations from the mother country, of many of the best citizens, the government could not view this effect without sensible concern. Their public institutions, also, awakened a spirit of enquiry in the mother country, no way favourable to the arbitrary measures then pursued by the Crown. Under all these circumstances, the alarms of the colonies could not be without sufficient cause.

Great exertions were made by the colonies to conciliate the favour, or, at least, the forbearance of the government. They ever avowed their subjection to the British Crown, and considered themselves as constituting an integral part of the empire. They maintained this idea in all their intercourse with the natives, and induced many of the Sechems to acknowledge themselves subjects of the British king. They owned the church of England as their mother church, and the members of that church as their Christian brethren. They were at great expense in sending over

agents, and in employing influential characters in England, to advocate their interests, to counteract misrepresentations, and to remove the jealousies which their enemies ever laboured to excite. Notwithstanding all these efforts, we must impute their early security to the special interpositions of divine Providence for the preservation of these Christian colonies and evangelical churches. Some persons, who were engaged in designs against the colonies, unexpectedly died. One vessel, prepared to bring orders from the commissioners for the plantations, whereby the liberties of the colonies would have been greatly infringed, foundered at sea. In some instances, the friends of the colonies succeeded wholly beyond their expectation, in impressing the mind of the king in their favour, in opposition to the advice of his council. These things were particularly noticed by the colonists, with the most grateful acknowledgments to heaven.

But the great cause of the early security of the colonies, and the preservation of their civil and ecclesiastical privileges, under the divine favour, was the unforeseen events which soon commenced, and for many years, so greatly agitated the mother country. In the adorable wisdom of the Most High, an arbitrary prince and a persecuting bishop were made instrumental of establishing churches and republics, in the possession of the most perfect religious and civil liberty, of any which have yet existed. He who said of the proud Assyrian, *He meaneth not so, neither doth his heart think so*, still holds the reins of universal government, still is the glorious head and protector of the church. To the distressing calamities which afflicted the mother country, do we look, as the primary means of the establishment and preservation of the invaluable liberties of New-England.

As early as the year 1636, about the time of the settlement of Connecticut, there began to be serious collisions between King Charles and his parliament. In 1637, the discontents of the nation at the arbitrary measures of the court openly appeared, and began generally to prevail.

These discontents and troubles continued to increase, till they involved the nation in a most distressing civil war, which began in 1642, and continued with little intermission till 1649, when the king was beheaded. Soon after this, the government fell into the hands of Cromwell, who was friendly to the ecclesiastical order established in New-England. The government continued in this situation, till the restoration of Charles II. in 1660. During the troubles between the King and Parliament, and especially, during the civil wars, the king and his council had no leisure to attend to the affairs of the colonies. During the period of the commonwealth, New-England enjoyed the favour of the mother country. The restoration of the King was about thirty years after the settlement of Massachusetts. In this period, the colonies acquired such a consistence, they had risen to such numbers and strength, the utility of their political system was so apparent, and such were the commercial advantages derived and expected from them, that the mother country never after made any essential alterations in their civil or ecclesiastical institutions. Some attempts for this purpose were made in the reign of James II. but his reign being short and universally unpopular, things soon reverted to their former state.

We will now take a brief view of the conduct of our venerable fathers in their intercourse with the Aborigines of the country. Their primary object in removing to the western wilderness and planting themselves in a land not sown, was the glory of God, and the enjoyment of the pure religion of their divine Saviour. They knew that this religion was benevolent; that the Lord Jesus *is the Saviour of all men*, and that he hath left it in charge to his people to *disciple all nations*. If they sought the glory of God; if they depended for their preservation and safety on the favour of Him who *hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth*; they were irresistibly impelled to make sincere efforts to introduce the light of the Sun of Righteousness into the dreary

abodes of their Pagan neighbours. For this purpose, their first necessary step was to convince the barbarians that they feared and loved the God whom they worshipped, that his precepts were just and good. Thus the colonial governments were ever careful to maintain the strictest integrity in all their intercourse with the natives, and laws were enacted with severe penalties to prevent their being defrauded or injured by individuals. The duties of benevolence and fidelity towards the natives were much inculcated by the public teachers of religion. By the most of the people these important duties were well observed, and they were productive of the happiest effects.

After these preparatory measures, the instituted means of gospel instruction were regularly employed among them. Several able and laborious divines exerted themselves in this important work with great fidelity and perseverance. The Rev. John Elliot, the famous minister of Roxbury, who came to New-England in 1631, took the lead in this benevolent work. In the prosecution of this work, the venerable evangelists learned their rude language, translated the Scriptures into their own tongue, and taught them to read. Mr. Elliot made a translation of the whole Bible into the Indian language, which was printed for their use. The poor barbarians, who had been for ages the abject devotees of the basest idolatry, were enabled to declare, *We do hear them speak in our own tongues the wonderful works of God.* Baxter's "Call to the Unconverted," some valuable catechisms, and other religious tracts, were translated and printed for their use. These exertions, under the favour of Him who hath promised, *Lo, I am with you alway*, were not made in vain. They were attended with the most encouraging success. They were powerful means of maintaining the peace of the colonies with the natives, and, as we humbly believe, through divine grace, of preparing many of those poor pagans for a part in the everlasting song. Dr. Increase Mather, in a letter to the Hebrew Professor at Utrecht, dated at Boston, July, 1687, observes, "There

are six churches of baptized Indians in New-England, and eighteen Assemblies of Catecumens, professing the name of Christ. Of the Indians there are four-and-twenty who are preachers of the word of God ; and besides these there are four English Ministers who preach the gospel in the Indian tongue." The late Rev. Dr. Edwards,* observed, than whom perhaps there was no more competent judge; that he believed as great success had attended the ministrations of the gospel in New-England, according to the means used, among the Indians, as among the English.

The strict justice observed by the first planters towards the natives, with many acts of distinguished benevolence, produced in their minds a very favourable impression. Their lands were procured by fair and open purchases. Traffic was conducted with them according to just and established rules. Many of the natives became the most faithful friends of the colonies, and would give them seasonable notice of any hostile attempts of any of the savage tribes. They often referred their differences to the arbitration of the English. In some instances, individual colonies formed alliances with some of the tribes, which they observed with scrupulous good faith. These means were the occasion of preserving the colonies from the distresses of any general Indian war for more than fifty years.

Great numbers of the Indians fell a prey to epidemic diseases, particularly, the small-pox. No evidence appears that this was ever communicated to them by design ; and it is certain, that while affected with the disease, they received the most humane and faithful attention from the English.

No Indian war sustained by the colonies excited so much alarm, or endangered their existence to such a degree as the war of the Pequods. A particular account of this war was given in the second Section of this chapter. Soon after the conclusion of the Pequod war, Miantonimoh,

* President of Union College in Schenectady.

the chief Sachem of the Narragansets, who commanded about a thousand warriors being delivered from his fears of the Pequods, appeared to entertain hostile designs against the colonies. He carried on his machinations, for some time, with great secrecy, but, at length, they became so apparent, that most of the Connecticut settlements were obliged to maintain a nightly guard. In the year 1643, he suddenly made war upon the Moheagans, and was taken prisoner by them and put to death. In 1645, and 1646 the Narragansets endeavoured to excite the Mohawks and other warlike tribes to make war upon the colonies. The people perceived the occasions of alarm, and made preparations for active war. In view of these, the Indians relinquished their hostile attempts. Excepting some small occasional troubles, the colonies had no war with the Indians, from this time till the year 1675. At that time commenced the famous war of King Philip, which produced greater desolation and individual distress than any Indian war which has been sustained by the New-England colonies. Philip was a noted Sachem, who resided at Mount Hope, in the State of Rhode-Island. For pleasantness of situation, none perhaps, can be found in New-England, superiour to his residence. He was the son of Massasoit, the early and constant friend of the English, who made a treaty of friendship with the colony of Plymouth, about four months after their arrival. Philip was an inveterate pagan, and a determined enemy of the English. He was a man of great personal prowess, of extraordinary subtlety, and thoroughly skilled in the wiles and cruelties of Indian warfare.

Philip's war commenced by an attack on the people of Swanzeey, not far from his residence, as they were returning from divine service, on a day of public humiliation and prayer, under the apprehensions of the approaching war. It soon appeared that there was a most secret and very extensive combination of the greater part of the Indian tribes, among and surrounding the New-England colonies, to make one great effort for the general destruction of the

settlements. The war raged with unexampled fierceness for more than a year. No settlement was secure, for, without the least notice, many hundreds of savages would fall upon a defenceless town, and, by murder and conflagration, the work of destruction would be soon complete. The desolations of the war were most severe on the settlements in Massachusetts. Several of the towns on Connecticut River, and many between that and the sea-coast, were nearly destroyed. Many others severely suffered. All the cruelties of savage warfare were committed with the utmost barbarity. The colonies made great efforts against the enemy, and soon obtained some signal successes. An army of nearly fifteen hundred men, under the command of Governor Winslow of Plymouth, in the depth of winter, attacked a very strong fort of the Narragansets, with great gallantry, and, after sustaining a heavy loss, carried and destroyed the fort. Previous to this expedition, a general fast was observed through the colonies. In the spring of 1676, in a great number of the conflicts, the colonial troops were almost invariably victorious. Jealousies arose among the different tribes of the savages, and, while great numbers were slain, many deserted the common cause. The death of Philip, who was killed in August, terminated the war. The 29th of June, 1675, was observed by the colonies as a public fast ; the same day of the following year, for their signal successes and the prospect of peace, was observed as a day of general thanksgiving.

After the Revolution in England in 1688, war commenced between that country and France, in which, the colonies of New-England and New-York were great sufferers. The northern Indians, supported by the French in Canada, carried on a furious war against the colonies for about ten years. The principal sufferings were endured by the settlements in the District of Maine. But all the northern settlements had their share. The war was concluded in Europe by the peace of Ryswick, December, 1697 ; and in the following year, it generally terminated in America.

The internal welfare of the colonies, their civil, moral, literary, and ecclesiastical institutions, on which, all the social enjoyments of themselves and their posterity primarily depended, ever engaged the chief care of the first Planters. After the establishment of the colony of New-Haven, the several colonies finding, from their dispersed situation, and their respective individual weakness, that they were peculiarly exposed to the assaults of enemies, and in danger of mutual animosities and collisions, entertained thoughts of a general confederation for their common protection and mutual benefit. This important object having been some years in agitation, in May 1643, Commissioners from the respective Colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New-Haven, with great harmony and mutual condescension, completed and signed the articles of confederation. In the introduction they declare that they "came into these parts of America, with one and the same end and aim, to advance the kingdom of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, and enjoy the liberties of the gospel in purity and peace." The stile of this confederation was *The United Colonies of New-England*. Each colony appointed two Commissioners, who must be members of some of the churches, who met annually in one of the four colonies by rotation. By these Commissioners, all objects of common interest to the colonies were considered and determined. This confederation was of the greatest benefit to these colonies, as it maintained internal peace, rendered them formidable to the Indian tribes, to their neighbours the Dutch, and, in a considerable degree, to the French in Canada. The union continued more than forty years, till the abrogation of the charters by James II. This confederation was the germ of our present national Constitution, which is our pride and our safety.

The laws which were enacted by the respective colonial legislatures, were, essentially, of a similar character. For laws of a civil nature, the laws of England were their principal guide ; for those which respected the interests of

religion and morals, the Scriptures were their general standard. In many instances, they exhibited great judgment in adapting their statutes to the particular circumstances of the people. All their laws have the same great object in view, the establishment and maintenance of a Christian Commonwealth. Great care was taken to establish and maintain courts of justice in their utmost purity, and with all necessary authority.

In 1661, Governor Winthrop of Connecticut, son of the first Governor of Massachusetts, was sent to England as an agent for the colony, and returned the following year, having procured according to the petition of the people, the Connecticut Charter. This charter included in its prescribed limits the colony of New-Haven, and in 1665, they were united in one colony. The charter of Massachusetts having been resumed by James II. ; a new charter was granted to that colony in 1692, which included the colony of Plymouth.

The ecclesiastical history of the fathers of New-England, forms a very interesting subject of attention, as the object engaged their first care in their internal concerns. In their ecclesiastical regulations they walked in an unbeat-en path, they found no pattern for imitation in the churches of modern times. Among all the reformed churches in Europe, there were none of such a structure as those erected by our venerable fathers. They had no guide but the precepts of the great Head of the church, and their own sound discretion ; aided by the light of the holy Comforter, whose gracious promised assistance they continually implored. In the constitution of all the churches there was a characteristic likeness. The principles recognized by the church of Plymouth, in their leading features, were embraced by the whole. Their churches were purely congregational, holding all ecclesiastical authority in the members of an individual church ; yet they were generally impressed with a sense of the necessity of a *commune vinculum*, some common bond of union, possessing a delegated authority, for their mutual security and

advantage. The expediency of the association of ministers, and the consociation of churches, was early perceived. These measures were recommended by the first and most eminent divines, and the experience of a few years led to their gradual adoption.

As it has ever been the case with the church of Christ on earth, in its imperfect state, the churches of New-England have been tried with errors and divisions. In the year 1636, the wife of a Mr. Hutchinson, a respectable man in Boston, who came to New-England about three years before, made great disturbance in the churches of the colony. She was a woman of strong mental powers, of a high spirit, of great pride, and possessed of a very high degree of enthusiasm. She inculcated, publicly, a variety of religious sentiments of a high antinomian character, making the evidence of the Christian hope to consist in some internal persuasion, rather than in obedience to the divine precepts, and openly inveighed against the most of the ministers and magistrates of the colony, as maintaining and relying upon a covenant of works. She was strongly countenanced by that finished demagogue Henry Vane, who was governor for that year, and who, had he continued in the country, would have endangered the existence of the colony. Mrs. Hutchinson supported her notions by appealing to special revelations and extraordinary internal illuminations, which superseded the use of argument, and defied refutation. Such was the effect of these opinions, or of the manner in which they were maintained, that all the settlements were in a commotion. In 1637, a general council of the ministers and messengers of the churches convened at Cambridge, by order of the General Court, to take cognizance of the prevailing errors, and restore harmony to the churches. Mr. Hooker of Hartford, and Mr. Bulkley of Concord were the moderators. The opinions of Mrs. Hutchinson, with some other errors then prevailing, were condemned by the council, in which decision, the country generally acquiesced. Mr. Davenport arrived at Boston about the time of the meet-

ing of the Synod, and afforded important assistance in their deliberations. After the decisions of the council, Mrs. Hutchinson became more obstinate, and her errors increased. She was excommunicated from the church at Boston; Mr. Hutchinson removed from the colony, and his wife came to a miserable end.

In the course of a few years after the first settlement of the country, the churches found the want of a general Confession of Faith, and a system of Church Government, which should be generally adopted by the churches. Accordingly, the ministers and delegates of the several churches in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New-Haven, assembled at Cambridge in 1648, and with great unanimity adopted the Confession of Faith recently composed by the venerable assembly of divines at Westminster, and a form of Church-Government, which they recommended to the legislature and to the churches. These were approved and adopted, and were, for many years, the constitution of the New-England churches. This order of Church-Government is generally known by the appellation of Cambridge Platform.

When the first planters and fathers of the churches had been generally removed by death, the strictness of practice at first established, became a subject of discussion. Some wished for a greater latitude in the enjoyment of church privileges, while others inclined to adhere to the pure principles of the fathers. These differences of sentiment produced debates and altercation, which considerably agitated the colonies. At the desire and appointment of the General Courts of Massachusetts and Connecticut, a general council of ministers from their respective colonies convened at Boston in 1657, and, after an elaborate discussion, gave their opinion on the subjects which generally engaged the attention of the churches. Their decisions and advice were approved by the colonial governments. In 1662, the General Court of Massachusetts convened a general Synod of their churches, whose result was conformable to the decision of the council of 1657.

The council and Synod approved of the consociation of churches, and recommended the practice for general adoption.

After the conclusion of King Philip's war, in 1676, a visible decay of morals, and a decline of the power of vital religion were generally observed, and, by the pious people, greatly lamented. An occasional convention of a number of ministers in Massachusetts desired the General Court to convene a Synod to take these things into serious consideration. A general Synod of the churches in that colony was accordingly convened in 1679, and gave an elaborate and most excellent result on the two following questions, proposed by the General Court for their consideration. First, *What are the evils which have provoked the Lord to bring his judgments on New-England?* Second, *What is to be done that so these evils may be reformed?* Their result was productive of much good. This Synod, at their second meeting in 1680, after approving of the acts of the Synod of 1643, with regard to the Confession of Faith and form of Church-Government, adopted the Savoy Confession, with some small variations, which is very little different from that of Westminster. The Savoy Confession was composed by an assembly of the congregational churches in England, about the year 1660, held in a public building in London called the Savoy.

About the year 1703, proposals were made in Connecticut for a meeting of a general Synod of the churches, for the formation of an ecclesiastical constitution. The subject having obtained the general concurrence of public opinion, the General Court, perceiving the necessity of the measure, directed the Associations of the several counties to appoint a certain number of delegates, to be attended by messengers from their respective churches, to convene at Saybrook, for the performance of this important service. The Convention met at Saybrook, September, 1708, consisting of twelve ministers and four messengers from the churches. This venerable ecclesiastical Assembly adopted the Confession of Faith owned by the

Synod of Boston in 1680. They adopted also the Heads of Agreement, which were formed and made the basis of a union of the Presbyterian and Congregational churches in England, 1693. The convention proceeded, further, to the formation of certain articles for the connection and regulation of the churches of the colony. Having completed their work, it was presented to the Assembly in the October following, and received their public and cordial approbation. This production, which is now the basis of the churches of this State, has been pronounced, by competent judges, one of the best ecclesiastical constitutions which human wisdom has formed.

For many years after the settlement of New-England, there were very few professing Christians in the colonies, who differed from the prevailing denomination. Of Massachusetts, Mr Hutchinson observes, "During the fifty years the charter continued, there were very few instances of any society of Christians differing, professedly, in doctrine, discipline, or form of worship, from the established churches. The number of Baptists was small. The Quakers came over in small parties, yet they were never numerous enough to form a society of any consequence, except upon the borders of Rhode-Island. Nor was there any Episcopal church in any part of the colony until the charter was vacated." According to Dr. Trumbull, the following account was publicly given of the religious state of the Connecticut colony in 1680. "Our people in this colony, are, some of them, strict congregational men, others, more large congregational men, and some moderate presbyterians. The congregational men of both sorts are the greatest part of the people in the colony. There are four or five seventh-day men and about so many more Quakers.—Great care is taken for the instruction of the people in the Christian religion, by ministers catechising of them and preaching to them twice every sabbath-day, and, sometimes, on lecture days; and by masters of families instructing and catechising their children and servants, which they are required to do by law. In

our corporation are twenty-six towns, and twenty-one churches. There is in every town in the colony a settled minister, except in two towns newly begun." Our venerable historian observes, " There was about one minister, upon an average, to every four hundred and sixty persons, or to about ninety families."

CHAPTER III.

BIOGRAPHY.

SECTION I.

LIFE OF REV. JOHN ROBINSON....LIFE OF GOV. CARVER.

THAT we may be enabled to form a correct opinion of the venerable founders of the New-England Colonies, it is necessary for us to have a more distinct view of those individuals, whose virtues and services rendered them conspicuous, than can be taken from a general history of events. Though sensible that the task is arduous, and the subject worthy of the labours of the ablest Biographer; under the persuasion that some account of the characters of those great and good men, whom we love to denominate our forefathers, will be acceptable to my readers, the work will be attempted.

Of the early settlements of New-England, the Colony of Plymouth, the first in standing, led the way in the establishment of the most important civil and religious institutions. The fathers of that colony, therefore, for their zeal and indefatigable labours, will always be held in the most grateful remembrance ; while their practical wisdom and rational piety can never cease to be revered. The eminent characters of that colony, may, very justly, be the subject of our first attention.

The most distinguished person of that extraordinary company, who made the settlement of Plymouth, and commenced the first colony which in its early state had the appearance of permanency, within the present limits of the United States, was their venerable minister, the Rev. JOHN ROBINSON. Through the interesting vicissi-

tudes of about twenty years, he was their leader, their shield, and the only common bond which gave a unity to all their pursuits.

Mr. Robinson was born in the east of England, about the year 1575. Possessed of a strong and discriminating mind, under the advantages of a liberal education, he made an early and distinguished progress in those branches of science which were the principal subjects of learning in that day. Having been early inducted into the work of the gospel ministry, he applied with great diligence to the study of the Scriptures, and to the constitution and character of the national church. Of that church he was a member, having received episcopal ordination, and was settled over a small congregation near Yarmouth. He entered upon the work of the ministry about the time when the debates between the advocates of high episcopacy and the Puritans, managed by those able champions Whitgift and Cartwright, were carried on with the utmost vigour. The minds of all men were affected with these discussions, and such as were of an inquisitive turn, necessarily examined the subjects which so greatly agitated the nation. From a careful attention to the existing order of the religious establishment, Mr. Robinson became convinced that many of the ordinances and ceremonies of the church were unsupported by divine precept, and inconsistent with the word of God. Finding that rites of human invention were maintained and enforced with as much pertinacity as any of the express precepts or ordinances of Christ, that he was denied the privilege of conscientious omission of forms and ceremonies confessedly unessential, Mr. Robinson determined, at the hazard of all temporal good, to separate from the established church.

About the year 1580, a sect of violent separatists arose in England, the principal leader of whom, was Robert Brown, from whom the sect was denominated Brownists. These absolutely disowned the Church of England as a church of Christ, and held it to be unlawful to hold any communion with that church. Mr. Robinson, on a dis-

covery of the numerous factitious rites which were imposed by the church, of the arbitrary measures and high usurpations of the hierarchy, fell into the same mistaken sentiments, and connected himself with the Brownists. The sentiments which he embraced and publicly maintained, were generally adopted by his congregation. Enlightened by his luminous mind, allured by his ardent piety, attached by his unfeined worth, the congregation ever adhered to their faithful, beloved pastor. Mr. Robinson published some small tracts in vindication of the lawfulness of separation, and in opposition to many of the ordinances of the ecclesiastical establishment. Many of the Brownists, unable to endure the persecuting zeal of Archbishop Whitgift and his successor Bancroft, fled to Holland and set up several churches. Those churches, enjoyed the labours of several excellent divines, whose names are still eminent in the departments of divinity and science.

Mr. Robinson and his people made many efforts to enjoy and perform the pure worship and ordinances of the gospel, *in a private manner*, without giving offence to those who sought to enforce a general uniformity. But the zeal of the ecclesiastical courts and the vigilance of the pursuivants rendering this impracticable, they were compelled to look for an asylum in foreign countries. The removal of Mr. Robinson and his congregation to Amsterdam, in the year 1607 ; and in the year following, to Leyden, has been particularly described.

Mr. Robinson was a man of an independent mind, who made truth and duty his great objects of pursuit, and was not to be governed by the prejudices of a sect. On a more near acquaintance with the principles and practices of the Brownists than he could obtain in his native country, aided by the light of the holy Scriptures and an intercourse with some eminent Puritan divines, he became sensible of the unreasonable bigotry and many errors of the Brownists, and undertook to effect a reformation in their sentiments and churches. In this important undertaking, he was eminently successful. Many of the Brown-

ists gradually came into his sentiments, and, that they might be distinguished from those who tenaciously adhered to the sentiments of Brown, and went even greater lengths in error, they were distinguished by the name of *Independents*. The leading principles on which Mr. Robinson's church in Leyden was established, were these:— They acknowledged the doctrinal Articles of the Church of England to contain the essential doctrines of the gospel; they held that, that was a true church of Christ, and, as such, to be venerated and esteemed; that every individual church had received authority from Christ to enjoy all the privileges, to exercise all the rights, which he has appointed for his visible people; and that such a church is not amenable to any external or superiour ecclesiastical authority. They held a cordial communion with the Reformed churches of Holland, with the churches of Geneva, with the French Protestants who were regulated by the Walloon Confession, and with the most of the Reformed churches, they agreed in the essential principles of doctrine and practice. They held it lawful to unite with the Church of England in Christian intercourse and divine worship, but not to commune with them, in their then existing state, in sealing ordinances. This statement is made from a Confession of Faith and a general account of that first Independent church, drawn by Mr. Robinson, with great ability and learning, and published at Leyden in latin, in the year 1619. It is entitled *An Apology for the English exiles who are vulgarly called Brownists*. In this Confession it is stated, "We hold the Reformed Churches to be true and genuine, we profess communion with them in the sacraments of God, and, as far as we are able, cultivate their fellowship." Dr. Mosheim observes, "Instead of differing from all other Christian societies, it may rather be said of the Independents, that they were perfectly agreed with by far the greatest part of the Reformed churches." The religious sentiments, in doctrine and practice, which were received by Mr. Robinson's church at Leyden, under the instruction of that

great man, and afterwards brought to America, were remarkably coincident with those which have since been so ably vindicated by Dr. Hopkins in his incomparable System; a work which will be admired in the latest periods of the church, notwithstanding the censures it now receives from many by whom it was never read. The sentiments of Mr. Robinson which have been mentioned, which were adopted by his people, afford a satisfactory reason for an extraordinary remark of that acute historian Mr. Hume. He says, of the Independents, "Of all Christian sects this was the first, which during its prosperity, as well as its adversity, always adopted the principle of toleration."

At the time that Mr. Robinson removed to Leyden, the celebrated Arminius was professor of divinity in the eminent university of that city, and publicly inculcated his peculiar religious sentiments. After his death in 1609, he was succeeded in the divinity chair by Episcopius, who maintained the religious sentiments of his predecessor with great ability and learning. An occurrence during his professorate, deserves a particular mention in this place. It is related in an historical tract of Governor Bradford. "Episcopius, the Armenian professor, put forth his best strength and set forth sundry theses, which by public dispute he would defend against all men. Now, Poliander, the other professor, and the chief preachers of the city desired Mr. Robinson to dispute against him; but he was loth, being a stranger; yet the other did importune him and told him that such was the abilities and nimbleness of the adversary that the truth would suffer if he did not help them; so that he condescended and prepared himself against the time, and when the day came, the Lord did so help him to defend the truth and foil his adversary as he put him to an apparent nonplus in this great and public audience, and so he did a second and a third time upon such like occasions, which procured him much honour and respect."

Mr. Robinson appears to have had no less influence with his people in the regulation of their moral conduct, than in the direction of their religious sentiments. A little previous to their removal to America, the Magistrates of the city of Leyden, in a public address to the members of the French church in that city, observe, "These English have lived among us these twelve years, and yet we never had any suit or accusation come against any of them ; but your strifes and quarrels are continual."

The plan of a removal to America, projected by the congregation at Leyden, met with the cordial approbation of their revered Pastor. He considered the reasons for a removal sufficient, and resolved to accompany his beloved flock to the western wilderness. After attending to the nature of the necessary preparations, it was found that the whole company could not remove at one time, and it was agreed that the Pastor should attend the greater number. At the time of the first emigration, the greater number remained in Holland, with whom Mr. Robinson continued. He remained, however, in the full expectation of removing with the residue of his people, to America. This confident expectation was never relinquished till his death.

When the first emigrants were prepared for their embarkation, the congregation observed, with great solemnity, a day of fasting and prayer. After preaching from Ezra viii. 21. Mr. Robinson addressed the adventurers in the following manner :

"Brethren,

"We are now quickly to part from one another, and whether I may ever live to see your faces on earth any more, the God of heaven only knows ; but whether the Lord has appointed that or no, I charge you before God and his blessed angels, that you follow me no farther than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ.

"If God reveal any thing to you by any other instrument of his, be as ready to receive it as ever you were to receive any truth by my ministry ; for I am verily persuaded, the Lord has more truth yet to break forth out of

his holy word. For my part, I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the Reformed churches, who are come to a period in religion, and will go at present no farther than the instruments of their reformation. The Lutherans cannot be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw ; whatever part of his will our God has revealed to Calvin, they will rather die than embrace it ; and the Calvinists, you see, stick fast where they were left by that great man of God, who yet saw not all things.

“ This is a misery much to be lamented, for though they were burning and shining lights in their times, yet they penetrated not into the whole counsel of God, but were they now living, would be as willing to embrace further light as that which they first received. I beesech you remember, it is an article of your church covenant, that *you be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known to you from the written word of God.* Remember that, and every other article of your sacred covenant. But I must herewithall exhort you to take heed what you receive as truth, examine it, consider it, and compare it with other scriptures of truth, before you receive it ; for it is not possible the Christian world should come so lately out of such thick anti-christian darkness, and that perfection of knowledge should break forth at once.

“ I must also advise you to abandon, avoid, and shake off the name of BROWNIST ; it is a mere nick-name, and a brand for the making religion, and the professors of it, odious to the Christian world.* Unto this end, I should be extremely glad, if some godly minister would go with you, or come to you, before you can have any company. For there will be no difference between the unconformable ministers of England and you, when you come to the practice of evangelical ordinances out of the Kingdom. And I would wish you, by all means, to close with the

* Had Judge Marshall been favoured with sufficient time for the compilation of his History, he would not have stated that the first settlers of Plymouth were *Brownists*.

godly people of England; study union with them in all things, wherein you can have it without sin, rather than in the least measure to affect a division or separation from them. Neither would I have you loth to take another Pastor beside myself; inasmuch as a flock that hath two Shepherds, is not thereby endangered, but secured." This judicious address was closed with a most affectionate farewell.

The company who were to sail for America, being composed of the younger part of the congregation, Mr. Robinson and their elder brethren accompanied them to Delfthaven, where they embarked, July 2d, 1620. Having spent the preceding night in Christian converse and social worship, in the morning, after exchanging the endearments of a mutual affection, which nothing less than common sufferings in a strange land could have produced, the beloved Pastor kneeled down on the sea-shore, and, with a fervent prayer, committed the adventurers to the care and mercy of heaven. The pilgrims stepped on board, he gave them his blessing,—that voice to which they had always listened with delight, they were not to hear again, till they hear it in the heavenly praises of redeeming love.

The emigrants were to make some stay in England, before their final departure for the western continent. After they had sailed from Holland, Mr. Robinson wrote and sent to them a most affectionate and judicious pastoral letter, which was preserved by them with the tenderest remembrance, and was of great benefit to them through the residue of their lives. In this, he counselled them, above all things else to make their peace with God and their own consciences, by a sincere repentance of all sin, and a life of faithful obedience to the divine commands. As the next most important duty, he exhorted them to live in peace with one another. To be very cautious of giving offence, and equally cautious of indulging an irritable temper, whereby they would be liable to take offence from others. He observes, "In my own experience, few or

none have been found that sooner give offence, than those that easily take it; neither have they ever proved sound and profitable members of society, who have nourished this touchy humour." He warns them, with great earnestness, against the indulgence of a private selfish spirit, whereby any one should be seeking, exclusively, his own personal interest. He reminds them that they are the house of God, and cautions them not to be shaken with unprofitable novelties and innovations.

For a few succeeding years, Mr. Robinson continued with the part of his congregation remaining in Holland, enjoying the utmost confidence of his own people, and rising, continually in the esteem and affection of all to whom he was known. In 1621, and 1623, small companies of emigrants removed from the congregation to join their friends in Plymouth. So many obstacles were thrown in the way of the emigration of the principal part of the company, by the Plymouth Company in England, who liked not the religious sentiments of the Puritans, that their removal, the object of their earnest and constant hope, was delayed from year to year.

In the year 1625, the providence of God cast a sudden gloom upon all their prospects, by removing their beloved Pastor to his eternal rest. This event, which threw the Company in both continents into the deepest mourning, was communicated to Plymouth in a letter from Leyden, of which the following is an extract: "It has pleased the Lord to take out of this vale of tears, your and our loving pastor, Mr. Robinson. He fell sick, Saturday morning, Feb. 22d, next day taught us twice, on the week grew weaker every day, feeling little or no sensible pain to the last. Departed this life the first of March. Had a continual ague. All his friends came freely to him. And if prayers, tears or means could have saved his life, he had not gone hence. We will still hold close in peace, wishing that you and we were together." He died in the fiftieth year of his age.

Mr. Robinson was a man of great dignity of manners, of a very grave deportment, and possessed in an eminent degree, that solemn piety which was characteristic of the distinguished Puritans of his time. He had a singular talent at securing the affections and commanding the minds of men. Very few of his friends or followers ever forsook him, for every additional knowledge of his character increased their attachment and confidence. Such was his acquaintance with the human character and such his knowledge of truth, that he seldom failed of the accomplishment of his purposes. He possessed the rarest talent in polemical writers, a candour of mind, which always bowed to the force of truth. Sensible of his own imperfections, he believed that much additional light respecting divine truth remained in the sacred volume, to be sought out hereafter, by those that fear the Lord. I apprehend that the history of the church furnishes not another instance in which the founder of an extensive religious denomination has delivered such sentiments as we have in Mr. Robinson's farewell address to the emigrants for America. He requires them not to make his opinions their standard, but to be always ready to receive the truth which God in his mercy should lay before them. And expresses his confidence that much remains to be exhibited.

A certain Mr. Jacob, an English divine, compelled like many others to leave his own country, after residing several years in Holland, fully imbibed the sentiments of Mr. Robinson, returned to England in 1616, and established the first independent church in that country. In a few years, they increased to a great number. The venerable Synod who composed the Savoy Confession in 1658, which has since been acknowledged by conventions of the churches in Massachusetts and Connecticut, were Independents.

An English historian, who was a great enemy to all Non-conformists, observes, " Mr. Robinson was a man of excellent parts, and the most learned, polished, and modest

spirit that ever separated from the Church of England." The apologies he wrote were very handsome. By his connection with Dr. Ames and Mr. Parker, he was brought to a greater moderation than he at first expressed. He ruined the rigid separation by allowing the lawfulness of communing with the Church of England in the word and prayer, though not in the sacraments and discipline.*

Such was the man, who under God, laid the foundation of the eldest church in the United States.

The first Governor of the Colony of Plymouth, was Mr. JOHN CARVER. During the period of the residence of Mr. Robinson and his congregation at Leyden, Mr. Carver was much distinguished for his talents and piety ; and for his activity, zeal, and fidelity in the service of the company. In early life, his heart was, apparently, sanctified by the grace of God, which was evinced by a life faithfully devoted to the service of the Redeemer. He possessed a grave rather than an ardent temper, yet he deliberately embraced the religious sentiments of the Puritans, and resolved to submit to the privations of worldly good, rather than neglect or abuse the religion of a divine Saviour, by being *subject to ordinances, after the commandments and doctrines of men*. He rejoiced in the privileges of a British subject, and remembered with humble grati-

* Dr. Ames, here mentioned, was the celebrated Professor at the University of Franeker, and author of the *Medulla Theologiae*. He was one that fled from the persecution of Archbishop Bancroft, and found an honourable asylum in Holland. His friendship was of great advantage to Mr. Robinson, as he helped to convince him of the errors of the Brownists, and afforded him much assistance in establishing the order of the Leyden church. He intended to have removed to America, but was prevented by death, which took place in 1633. His widow and children removed to New-England, and brought his library, which was of great value. He possessed a very acute mind and extensive learning, and was one of the ablest ministers of his time in opposition to the sentiments of the Arminians. A lineal descendent from him, was that great ornament of our country, the late Fisher Ames.

tude the great things which God had done for his church in his native land, in delivering it from the bondage of papal superstition and tyranny. Yet perceiving that the national church, pertinaciously, retained errors, after they had been most clearly pointed out by affectionate and faithful friends ; that it persisted in enforcing, by penal sanctions, rites of human prescription, unwarranted, if not inconsistent with the gospel of Christ ; that it would allow no indulgence to those who begged an exemption from those burdensome services, while they would accord with all essential ordinances ; he felt himself called, in the Providence of God, to bear a temperate testimony against such impositions, and to exercise those rights which Christ has given to all his people. Mindful of the high precept, *Stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage* ; and knowing that to this no human authority was paramount ; believing that many of the ordinances to which his obedience was required were an abridgment of this liberty, he felt authorized and bound to follow Christ alone. Thus he became one of the pillars, one of the most able and faithful supporters of Mr. Robinson's church.

Mr. Carver was a deacon of the church in Leyden, and retained the office after his removal to America. As an officer in the church, by his clear understanding, his sound judgment, his exemplary character, he possessed much influence, and was eminently useful in the performance of his many important duties. When we contemplate this little church, standing alone in the Christian world, with no friends or sister churches for its support, without the enjoyment of any ecclesiastical constitution, without any ancient and established usages for their regulation, the passions of individuals highly excited by oppression ; while we adore the merciful care of the great Head of the church, in preserving them from ruin, we cannot but admire the wisdom, the prudence, the moderation, of the officers and influential members, by whose instrumentality they were thus preserved, and led to such an eminent purity of

gospel order. The experience of two centuries has discovered no material defects in the system which they established. And no churches in the Christian world, according to their number, have, more eminently, enjoyed the divine blessing, than those which have been regulated according to their model.

When the congregation at Leyden had become generally disposed to a removal from Holland, Mr. Carver and Mr. Cushman were deputed to make application to the Virginia Company in England, for some lands within their Patent, for the establishment of a colony. On account of the many prejudices existing in England against this congregation, their first application was unsuccessful. The year following, 1619, they obtained the grant. Mr. Carver, for his education, his discretion, his gravity of manners, and his activity in the business of the emigration, was looked upon by the adventurers as the proper person for their chief magistrate, before their departure from Holland.

The emigrants arrived in the harbor of Cape Cod, Nov. 9th, 1620. A political compact, which was their civil constitution for many years, was soon formed, and, on the eleventh of that month, was signed by forty-one persons, all the males who were of age. Mr. Carver is the first signer, and immediately after, was unanimously chosen Governor. No other magistrate was appointed. In the perils and distresses of the succeeding winter, all that could be done by the benevolent man, by the illustrious patriot, by the exemplary Christian, was performed by Mr. Carver, to support the settlers under their accumulated sufferings, to preserve them from despondency, to provide every practical relief, and to preserve the colony from ruin. He cheerfully submitted to an equal share of privation and labour, afforded every possible assistance to the sick, counselled the dying, and comforted the mournful survivors; his serene countenance inspired confidence in every beholder, his humble submission directed all souls to God. During the most of the period of the raging sickness, in which one half of the whole number died, Gov.

Carver enjoyed good health, and was able to discharge the important duties devolving upon him.

The Governor having been informed that Massasoit, a powerful Indian Sachem, not far distant from the plantation, was amicably disposed towards the settlement, sent him a message, inviting him to an interview at Plymouth. He accordingly came with great state, attended by a numerous train, and on the 22d of March halted at the entrance of the town. The Governor, attended by a file of armed men, advanced to meet the royal savage, and after much ceremony, they proceeded to a friendly interview. The Colony, very providentially, were provided with an Indian interpreter. After partaking of an entertainment provided for that purpose, "they entered into a perpetual league of friendship, commerce, and mutual defence." The natives manifested the highest satisfaction at the scene. It was an event of uncommon interest, as the existence of the colony depended on the issue. This treaty was maintained inviolably by Massasoit till his death; and was the foundation of that peculiar harmony which long subsisted between the Plymouth Colony and the natives.

The negociation of this important treaty was the last public service performed by their worthy Governor. On the fifth of April 1621, after a short illness, a mysterious providence removed him from the afflicted colony, whose cup of sorrows now was full, removed him to the rest which remaineth for the people of God. Notwithstanding the low state of the colony, they gave their lamented Governor all the funeral honours which were in their power to bestow: the men were under arms, and fired several volleys over his grave.

Mr. Carver was a man of singular piety, of great fortitude and public spirit; grave in his manners, yet, open, condescending, and affectionate. He possessed a good estate, the greater part of which was spent in the service of the colony. As a magistrate, he was firm, upright, and watchful; as a Christian, humble and exemplary. By his

virtues, he was endeared to all his acquaintance, but especially, to the infant colony of which he was a most distinguished ornament and support. By the removal of such pillars, God taught our venerable fathers that his own almighty arm, and that alone, must "sustain the children of his love."

Mr. Carver's wife, who was distinguished for her piety, overcome with grief, died about six weeks after her husband. His posterity have been numerous and respectable in the Plymouth colony, and distinguished for health and longevity. One of the towns in the county of Plymouth now bears his name.

SECTION II.

LIFE OF GOVERNOR BRADFORD....LIFE OF GOVERNOR
ENDICOT.

THE infant colony of Plymouth, after the decease of their first Governor, the worthy Mr. Carver, in the spring of the year 1621, unanimously, elected Mr. William Bradford to be their chief Magistrate. The reflection often occurs to every attentive reader of history, that God, in his infinite wisdom, always provides illustrious characters, endued with all requisite qualifications, for the performance of the extraordinary services, which, in his holy providence, he designs to accomplish. This thought is forcibly illustrated in the characters of Julius Cæsar, Columbus, Luther, Washington, as well as in most of the eminent actors in human affairs. In the character of the man whose life is now to be given, though his sphere of action was less extensive than that of most of the heroes of history, we discover, no less clearly, the special operations of Divine Providence, in providing those peculiar qualifications which were necessary to the discharge of the important duties which he was called to perform. And as every

mind enlightened with revealed truth, will contemplate all human characters as acting in connection with the interests of the church of God, many of the fathers of New-England will be considered as occupying more important places, than many of the long-laboured subjects of historic eulogy. The conquerors of the world have aided the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom by destroying its enemies; but its humble, faithful friends have ever stood as pillars in the temple of God.

Mr. Bradford may be said to have been the most eminent instrument in divine Providence, of establishing and preserving the first colony of New-England, and the first church of the United States. He was a native of Yorkshire in England, born in the year 1583. In that part of England, the people were at that time, exceedingly destitute of religious instruction, and the Scriptures were scarcely known among them. Just emerging from the darkness of Romish imposture, the practical effects of the Reformation had scarcely begun to appear. Mr. Bradford descended from a respectable ancestry, who had long been employed in the business of husbandry. He enjoyed a competent inheritance from his parents, which, in consequence of their death, fell to him in his childhood. The care of his education devolved upon his grand-parents; and after their death, upon his uncles. At an early age, a long and severe sickness had the effect of turning his mind to the truths of religion. At the age of twelve years, by a divine blessing on a careful reading of the Scriptures, his mind became deeply impressed with the reality of divine things, and, under the faithful ministry of the pious Mr. Clifton, he became, apparently, a subject of divine grace. At this time, he formed a connection with a number of pious people who were called Professors. These were Puritans, who found the ordinary forms of the religious establishment unsatisfying to an ardent piety, who held private meetings for religious worship, and improvement, but were the subjects of strong popular odium. Naturally of a studious turn, Mr. Brad-

Ford, in his youth, applied himself to a serious investigation of the order and practices of the religious establishment, carefully comparing its various ordinances with the word of God. From a deliberate and prayerful attention to this subject, he became convinced of his duty to separate from the established church, that he might perform the duties of religion, unembarrassed with ordinances of human invention. Having taken a deliberate resolution to this effect, he soon found that it met with the decided disapprobation of his friends, particularly of his uncles, from whom he received severe and angry reproaches. To these he made the following temperate reply: "Were I like to endanger my life, or consume my estate by any ungodly courses, your counsels to me were very seasonable. But you know that I have been diligent and provident in my calling, and desirous not only to augment what I have, but to enjoy it in your company; to part from which, will be as great a cross as can befall me. Nevertheless, to keep a good conscience, and walk in such a way as God has prescribed in his word, is a thing which I must prefer before you all, and above life itself. Wherefore, since it is for a good cause that I am like to suffer the disasters which you lay before me, you have no cause to be either angry with me, or sorry for me. Yea, I am willing, not only, to part with every thing dear to me in this world for this cause, but I am thankful that God has given me an heart so to do, and will accept me so to suffer for him." He now saw that he was clearly addressed in the providence of God, *Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will shew thee.—And I will bless thee—and thou shalt be a blessing.*

At the age of eighteen years, Mr. Bradford left the place of his nativity, and, connecting himself with the people of Mr. Robinson's congregation, was one of the first company who endured so many sufferings and disasters in getting to Holland, in the year 1607. He there served as an apprentice to a silk manufacturer, till he became of age. He

then converted his estate in England into money, and continued in the same employment. Being, however, more fond of study than business, and improving every opportunity to increase his stock of science and general information, his employment was not attended with great success. The facilities for obtaining extensive learning, in the city of Leyden, were many, and they were much improved by Mr. Bradford. He spoke the Dutch and French languages with ease ; in the Latin and Greek, he was well skilled, but paid more particular attention to the Hebrew. He often observed, " I would see with my own eyes the ancient oracles of God, in their native beauty."

At the time of the projected removal of Mr. Robinson's congregation to America, Mr. Bradford engaged with ardour in the important enterprise. He was one of the first company of emigrants, who arrived on the American coast in November, 1620. In the political compact which was formed on their arrival, Mr. Carver is the first subscriber, and Mr. Bradford is the second. At the time of the landing of the Planters at Plymouth, the wife of Mr. Bradford, to whom he was tenderly attached, fell from the vessel and was drowned in the harbor. In the distressing sickness with which the plantation was afflicted, the first winter, he was a sufferer. His disease was long and severe, and he was not recovered at the death of Mr. Carver, in April. He was then, however, by the unanimous suffrage of the people, elected their governor ; and he retained their undiminished confidence till his death.

As he recovered his health, and began to contemplate the weight of cares devolving upon him, the innumerable difficulties with which he must contend, the arduous labours that were before him, the many dangers in which he must be involved ; had he not possessed a constancy of mind equal to the greatest patriots, a wisdom and prudence seldom equalled, a resource in difficulties adequate to every emergency, a reliance on God steady as his promises, he must have sunk under the overwhelming prospect. He was the chief magistrate of a feeble people surrounded

with many enemies ; he was the leader of a colony in an uninhabited wilderness without any prospects of support from the mother country ; he was the father of a family possessed of the most scanty supplies, by innumerable losses almost wholly dispirited. But he had that hope which casts anchor within the veil, a hold which never yet was broken.

In the early part of his administration, Gov. Bradford took effectual measures to secure the friendship of the natives, in the vicinity of the colony, and succeeded in a remarkable manner, in securing their confidence. Another measure of great importance to the colony, he undertook to accomplish, which required the exercise of all his skill and authority. The plantation was commenced on the principle of a community of property. The Governor soon perceived the evils of this state of things, and notwithstanding the strong attachments to such a course which was felt by many, and the insidious insinuations which must necessarily fall upon any one that would advocate a division of a common property, he firmly prosecuted the measure and effected a division to such an extent as was thought expedient. In the year 1627, a further distribution of the lands and the small property of the colony, was made among the planters.

For several years after the commencement of the settlement, the people suffered greatly for want of the necessities of life. Mr. Bradford cheerfully submitted to an equal share of privations and labour, living, several times, some weeks in succession, without any bread ; labouring, in the fields, at the buildings, at the fortifications, taking part in the watchings which were often maintained for a security against a surprise from insidious enemies. When any came to complain of their sufferings, the readiness which he manifested to be an equal sharer in all necessary privations, his dignified composure in the greatest dangers, his cheerful serenity in the darkest times, his uniform reliance on that God who had planted them in a land not sown, quieted, if they could not relieve every

mind. And in these times of distress, all that could be effected by the most active exertions, by persevering labour or daring enterprise, by the most watchful prudence or sagacious forethought, was done by their worthy governor, to preserve the existence of the colony and to relieve the distresses of the people. Without his vigilance and exertions, it would seem that this infant colony, like several plantations which had been commenced at the southward, would have been broken up, and, for a long period, all attempts for the settlement of New-England must have been discouraged. But he was prepared for the work appointed for him to perform.

The early character and circumstances of the Plymouth settlement were such, that it would seem no person could have been their enemy. They were weak and few, struggling with every difficulty, their prospects very unpromising, on a bleak and barren shore, surrounded with a multitude of savages, and eminently distinguished for the virtues of integrity, justice, and charity. But for the same reason that the faithful witnesses of old *had trials of cruel mockings*, and were subjected to innumerable sufferings, these humble servants of God could not escape the insidious designs of malignant enemies. Many of their savage neighbours ever viewed them with an eye of hostility, waiting a favourable opportunity to exterminate the colony. But these were not the most dangerous foes. The religious order of the church and colony of Plymouth were entirely different from the determined sentiments of the civil and ecclesiastical government of England. They were therefore constantly watched with a jealous eye. Their small consequence in the estimation of the English hierarchy, seems to have been the great reason, under the favour of Heaven, that they were to such a degree left unmolested. Some vicious characters who came from the mother country, hoping to obtain a consequence in a new plantation which they could never reach in their native land, found themselves rejected by the church of Plymouth, and could obtain no encouragement from the govern-

ment of the colony. Some of these returned to England and propagated with malignant zeal, the most malicious calumnies against the new plantation. To counteract the effect of these slanderous accusations, required all the skill, all the address and fidelity of the governor. The English government declared that Mr. Robinson professed in his Apology, that they accorded with the Reformed churches on the continent. They were accused of substantial deviations from those principles. Gov. Bradford, in a very able memorial, clearly showed that they agreed with the Reformed churches in the essential particulars of faith and practice, that they were not Brownists, and that they did not disown the Church of England as a Church of Christ. These efforts of the governor, supported by the known purity of his character, proved successful.

In the first year of Mr. Bradford's administration, the Narraganset Indians, a very powerful tribe sent him an angry message, threatening to make war upon the colony. The Governor sent them an answer, "If they loved war rather than peace they might begin when they would; the colony had done them no wrong, and did not fear them, nor should they find them unprovided." By this well timed decision, the enemy were prevented from the execution of their hostile attempts.

In the year 1633, Mr. Edward Winslow was chosen the governor of the colony; being solicited by Gov. Bradford to accept of the office. Mr. Winslow was also called to the same trust in 1636, and 1644. In 1634, Mr. Thomas Prince was elected to the same office. In all of those years, Mr. Bradford stands first among the Assistants. He held the office of governor, himself, every other year, from 1621, to 1657, the year of his death. Such an instance of the steadiness of a popular annual election, in a new settlement, founded in principles of the purest equality, unsupported by any established usages, while it stands as a prodigy in popular governments, declares more for the character of the individual, than can be done by all the eloquence of historic eulogy.

In the latter period of the life of Gov. Bradford, we find an instance of disinterestedness, not exceeded in the character of Aristides, Cincinnatus, or Publicola. The Patent of the Colony was made out in his name, "To William Bradford, his Heirs, Associates, and Assigns." With such an authority, he possessed every opportunity which a selfish heart could desire. But when the freemen became numerous, and several new towns were established, the General Court desired Mr. Bradford to transfer the patent, with all its privileges, to them and their successors. With their request, he cheerfully complied, confirming the act with a legal instrument, without any consideration. Notwithstanding his disinterestedness, and his long employment in the public service, and though he spent the most of his paternal estate for the support of the colony, he was much prospered in his individual circumstances, and left a good estate to his posterity.

In the latter part of his life, Gov. Bradford devoted much of his time to study, in which he arrived to very profitable attainments. He left several historical pieces, which, judging from those parts which remain, must have been very valuable ; but the most of them are unfortunately lost. His favourite study was Theology, in which he made great proficiency. He was well versed in the religious controversies of his time, and was an able advocate for truth.

In his Christian character, Mr. Bradford was no less distinguished, than as a Magistrate, and the founder of a prosperous colony. In early life, he became a subject of sanctifying grace. His religious sentiments were formed on mature reflection, and a careful examination of the holy Scriptures as the only standard of truth. His opinions on gospel doctrines, and the order and discipline of the Christian church, were such as have been generally maintained by the New-England churches. During the long destitute state of the Plymouth church, the wisdom and stedfastness of Gov. Bradford were eminently instru-

mental in preserving them from disorder, and from a departure from the truth. He often assisted in the duties of divine worship, in public, as well as in a more private manner, when deprived of the labours of a minister. He was a faithful observer of the private duties of the Christian character; constant in the services of religion; grave and humble in his deportment; yet cheerful and singularly uniform. No changes diverted him from the path of duty; no disappointments shook his confidence in God. His attainments in grace were eminent. For several months preceding his death, he was in a weak and declining state, from which he was convinced he should not recover. As he grew worse, contemplating, on a certain night, the character and truths of the Redeemer, his soul was filled with extatic joy, longing to be with Christ. He informed his friends, the next morning, that the good Spirit of God had given him the first fruits of his eternal glory. His work on earth was done, his soul was allied to the church in heaven. The day following, May 9th, 1657, in the 69th year of his age, he slept with his fathers.

There is no character among the fathers of New-England transmitted to us as more unexceptionable, than that of Gov. Bradford. For thirty-six years, he was the pillar of the Plymouth Colony. His patriotism was ardent and incorruptible, without haughtiness or self-interest. His wisdom was practical, enlightened by science and guided by accurate observation. His care embraced all objects within the compass of his duty, and his attention escaped none. His firmness was above the reach of casualty or craft. His demeanor always inspired confidence, and he could ever command the minds of men. The virtues of his private life were no less conspicuous than those of his public character. For these, no less than for his public services, he was always beloved. He possessed a perfect command of himself. We find no record of any hasty or rash measure in his conduct, or of any passionate speech.

to have fallen from him. As a Christian, he was meek and faithful, and now rests in the inheritance of the just.*

The illustrious coadjutors of Gov. Bradford, who united with him in laying the foundation of the Plymouth Colony, and supporting through the first age the work which they had reared, richly deserve the tribute of historic memorial. Gov. Winslow was their faithful and successful agent in all foreign embassies; to the Indian tribes, and to the parent country. Gov. Prince was a judicious statesman, an upright magistrate, and a valuable historian. Capt. Standish was their undaunted hero, who led all their military expeditions, not less skilled in conduct than vigorous in action. Their worthy Elder the Rev. Mr. Brewster, who, through modesty declined the pastoral office, distinguished for his learning and piety, performed the ministerial duties for many years, to great acceptance, ever enjoying the confidence and the attachment of the people, and rested from his labours in a good old age. Though it would be highly pleasing to have a nearer view of these eminent fathers, equally illustrious for vigour of mind, for Christian piety, and eminent usefulness, in our present historic sketch, they must be passed with the bare mention of their names, and the willing tribute of grateful remembrance.

GOVERNOR ENDICOT.

Mr. Endicot was a native of Dorsetshire in the west of England, born about the year 1595.† The Rev. Mr. White, the great promoter of the Massachusetts settlement, belonged to Dorchester, the shire town of that county. From that town and its vicinity, came many of the principal planters of that colony. Mr. Endicot was one of the original Patentees, who, in the year 1628, made a pur-

* A silver Cup, an armed Chair, with several other articles, brought by Mr. Bradford from England, are now possessed by his descendants in Plymouth.

† I have not been able to learn his age exactly.

chase from the Council of Plymouth, of that tract of country which now constitutes the principal part of the State of Massachusetts. In the summer of that year, the proprietors sent over Mr. Endicot with about an hundred planters to commence a settlement. He landed at Salem, and laid the foundation of the rising colony. Mr. Endicot had the sole management, and was constituted the governor of the new plantation. Situated in an extensive wilderness, with the care of such a number of adventurers wholly unused to the nature of a new country, vast was the burden which lay upon him. But his resolution, his perseverance, his zeal for the church of Christ, in the cause of which he was primarily engaged, were equal to every difficulty.

Various had been the projects for the settlement of New-England for the sake of gain. All these had failed. The company which had now undertaken to accomplish the same object, had for their chief design the formation of a settlement on the principles of religion. They resolved on a noble effort for the erection of a Christian commonwealth ; in which, the churches should be established on the pure principles of gospel order, and the civil constitution be regulated by the great precepts of the word of God. To commence the operations of this arduous work, no person, perhaps, could have been more fortunately selected than Gov. Endicot. He fully possessed the object of the proprietors, for its accomplishment no one was more ardent than himself, while he fully realized the difficulties which must, necessarily, be encountered. Though sanguine in his hopes, he ever knew his own weakness ; he knew that he was engaged in the cause of God, and that all help must come from him. He had, indeed, a strong confidence that the divine Saviour would do great things for his church in this land, but he was ever mindful that it would be done in such a way that Himself and not his instruments would have the praise.

By the great exertions of Mr. Endicot, by his influence and example, the company of planters, though they arrived late in the season, made a comfortable provision for their

accommodation in the ensuing winter. It does not appear that they endured any severe sufferings, from privations or sickness. Divine worship was maintained for the first year by the care and efforts of Mr. Endicot, though the company were but partially supplied with gospel ministrations. In this time, the Governor was careful to cultivate an intercourse with the infant settlement at Plymouth, and having become acquainted with their ecclesiastical order, he cordially approved of their system, and united with them in Christian fellowship. For much important information and assistance he was indebted to Gov. Bradford and the people of Plymouth.

In the summer of 1629, the new settlement received an accession of about three hundred planters from England. With these, came those two eminent divines, Mr. Higginson and Mr. Skelton. They met with a most cordial reception from Mr. Endicot, to whom they brought a commission of continuance in his government. Soon after the arrival of this second company, the governor and the ministers proceeded to the formation of a Christian church. This was done, in the month of August, with the most joyful solemnity.

The calamities of the ensuing winter and spring, in which the people suffered, in a severe season, the want of comfortable habitations, with a great scarcity of provisions, which brought on a most desolating sickness, required the exertion of all the wisdom and firmness of the governor. By his unremitted attention to the wants of the sufferers, by his constant vigilance to secure and promote the true interests of the colony, especially, by his unshaken confidence in God, he preserved his people from sinking under accumulated evils, and inspired them with a humble reliance on Him *who was with the church in the wilderness*. In June, 1630, the vessels began to arrive with the numerous company of adventurers which established the Massachusetts colony. Mr. Winthrop now became the governor of the colony, having been appointed by the proprietors in England, and Mr. Endicot was one

of the Assistants. He continued in the place of assistant for several years, and was one of the most active, vigilant, and influential magistrates in the colony. He was ever at the head of the Salem settlement, which, as it was the oldest, was one of the most respectable towns in the plantation.

In the year 1634, Mr. Endicot, in the capacity of a magistrate, caused the sign of the cross to be cut out of the king's colours, which were used as the public flag at Salem. He insisted that this was a relick of ancient superstition, that it was derived from the exploded institutions of popery, and ought to be discarded. He claimed not that it was an evil in itself, but as an appendage of Romish superstition which all good men in the nation, and especially, the Puritans, were endeavouring to exterminate, it ought not to be a devise of the public ensign. He felt authorised to do this by the example of King Hezekiah, in destroying the brazen serpent which had been set up by Moses. The brazen serpent was in itself no evil. Yet, in the days of Hezekiah, it had been prostituted to the purposes of idolatry. He therefore wisely caused it to be destroyed. The greater part of the corruptions of popery had risen from the abuse of things, in themselves harmless. When we consider the danger which was then reasonably apprehended, of the re-establishment of popery; when we consider the great influence of sensible objects on the minds of men, the intimate connection between the use of sensible objects and the sentiments with which such objects have been connected; when we consider the great difficulty which had been found to eradicate the attachment of the human mind from the pompous pageantry of popish superstition, for which all good men had laboured for a century, we shall find sufficient reason to justify the conduct, and to admire the firmness of Mr. Endicot in this decisive measure. When Constantine erected the cross above the imperial banner, it was done from the best motives, and was attended with the most beneficial effects. But when the same sign had

become an object of adoration and worship, instead of the blessed Person whom it bore, Luther, Zuinglius, Calvin, Beza, Cranmer, with all the venerable witnesses of their time, contended for its removal from the place of worship. For the same reason that we revere their conduct, we shall justify that of Mr. Endicot. He was, however, publicly censured by the General Court for this transaction, and, for one year, excluded from the magistracy. But this was done for the most obvious reasons: that the government at home might take no offence against the colony. Still Mr. Endicot's opinion prevailed; the soldiers refused to serve under a standard having a figure of a cross, and, by common consent, it was universally laid aside.

In the year 1641, Mr. Endicot was elected deputy governor of the colony. He held the same office for the two following years. In 1644, he was chosen governor, Mr. Winthrop being the deputy. At the death of the venerable Gov. Winthrop, in 1649, Mr. Endicot was chosen governor, and was re-elected to the same office every year, except one, till his death in 1665. He was governor of the colony for sixteen years; a longer term than that office has been held by any other man. He also held the office of commander in chief of the militia, and Commissioner of the United Colonies. In 1636, he commanded an important expedition against the Pequod Indians. I am inclined to believe that no man has ever lived in Massachusetts who has held such a number of important offices, for so long a period, with such a degree of popularity, as Mr. Endicot. In the latter part of his life there were attempts by the British Court to remove him from the chair of government. Few men could be found whose sentiments and characters were more averse to the arbitrary principles and the dissolute gaiety of the court of Charles II. than Mr. Endicot. Their wish that he might be removed from the chief magistracy, was duly signified to the colony. These efforts, however, were unsuccessful; the attachment and confidence of the people, which he had long possessed, continued to increase to the end of his life. For some of

the latter years of his life he lived in Boston, where he died, greatly lamented, in March, 1665.

As a magistrate, Mr. Endicot was upright and inflexible. Against vice, and all innovations, inconsistent with the principles of the colony, he was resolute and severe. In all popular commotions he was independent and undaunted. He never lost sight of the great object for which the colony was planted; the advancement of the pure religion of Christ Jesus. Every deviation from original principles, every change or relaxation, which he judged inconsistent with the great object, he opposed with unshaken perseverance. To any attempts to change the order of the churches, or introduce any relaxation of discipline; to any proposal to change the fundamental laws of the colony, or reduce the tone of public morals, he gave no indulgence. His course was fixed when he first took the charge of the infant settlement, and he pursued it with undaunted step till the end of his days. His persevering resolution, in the important stations which he held, for thirty-seven years, had a powerful tendency to cement those admirable institutions which were devised by him and his great compatriots, of which their posterity now enjoy the inestimable benefits.

Mr. Endicot had a very great desire to see a Christian church in an entire conformity to the gospel standard. He appears to have had no prepossession for any particular church order, but such as the gospel furnishes. And he believed the principles of the New-England churches to be more conformable to that system, than any other that he had known. And though convinced that, by the purest zeal and the utmost exertions, this object could never be entirely realized in the present imperfect state of the church, he felt it to be the duty of all Christians to labour for the greatest approximation to the perfect rule.

As a Christian, Mr. Endicot was faithful and eminently laborious in the service of his Lord. The honour of His name, and the interests of the church, were objects, at all times, nearest his heart; to the advancement of which, his

life and labours were eminently devoted. His natural ardour sometimes led him into indiscretions, but those who best knew him, knew that his zeal was a zeal for the Redeemer. He is justly considered the founder of that noble commonwealth ; and though the talents and virtues of Winthrop were necessary to complete the fabric, the first stones were laid by the faithful, indefatigable Endicot.

SECTION III.

LIFE OF GOV. WINTHROP....LIFE OF GOV. DUDLEY.

No man was ever more justly entitled to that noble appellation, Father of his country, than Gov. Winthrop. He was the Washington of his time. Like Washington, he possessed the undivided confidence of every class of people, and, like him, his talents for war and peace, his public and private virtues, always equalled the confidence and the expectations of his country. Like Moses, he led a numerous people from a land of plenty to an unexplored wilderness ; in times of difficulty and danger, he bore the burden of every expectation and every complaint ; he gave them civil laws and directed them to the oracles of unerring truth for their religion ; he appeased popular commotions and appalled the machinations of enemies, and, having surmounted the evils of the desart, and seen his people on the confines of plenty and peace, he was taken to the approbation of his God. With the great prophet of the Hebrews, guided by the light of heaven, no uninspired lawgiver is to be compared. But with Minos, Lycurgus, Numa, Solon, Alfred, and the famed founder of Petersburg, the New-England Winthrop would bear no disadvantageous comparison. In patriotism and personal virtues, he falls short of none of those revered sages. He lived indeed in a later age ; (excepting the last,) and en-

joyed the invaluable privileges derived from the illuminations of Christianity. But the political institutions, established by him and his illustrious coadjutors, will be the substratum of the most refined human society ; when the precepts of the others will be considered as stupendous efforts of the human mind, half enlightened ; as the unavailing attempts of defective virtue to rescue mankind from the chaos of barbarism.

John Winthrop, descended from a long line of very reputable ancestors, was born at Groton, in England, June 12, 1587. His father and grandfather were eminent in the knowledge and practice of the law. This son enjoyed the benefit of an early and careful education, with a view to the same profession. Such were his attainments in his profession, and such were the purity and gravity of his character, that, at the age of eighteen, he was appointed a justice of the peace. He was very diligent in pursuing the duties of his profession, making it his great object to be qualified for practical usefulness. It was for this object, rather than the procurement of a maintenance in life, that his excellent father directed the course of his education to the law. Belonging to a family of affluence, of education and taste, Mr. Winthrop was early distinguished for an easy affability and politeness of manners, which rendered him no less beloved, than his dignified deportment caused him to be respected.

The grandfather of Mr. Winthrop, who was an eminent lawyer, distinguished himself in the time of Henry VIII. as a warm advocate for the principles of the reformation. In these sentiments, the family were educated. His grandson, the subject of the present essay, became deeply impressed, in early life, with the reality and importance of the gospel of salvation. While a youth, he was made a subject, apparently, of that sanctifying grace of God, which was an essential qualification for those important services appointed for him in divine Providence, which rendered him one of the most eminent instruments of his time in promoting the interests of the divine Redeemer. As his

heart loved the gospel of Christ, he would gladly have devoted himself to the service of his Lord, in the work of the ministry. But he was dissuaded by the solicitation of friends, and he determined to continue in the course of life prescribed by a judicious and affectionate father. The gospel, however, became his favourite study ; and, by an attentive examination of its truths, he became gradually inclined to embrace the sentiments of the Puritans. This, however, he did, with a spirit of true moderation, with a temper of Christian charity, not ascribing perfection to any religious order, not disowning his Christian friends, or refusing communion after the manner of his fathers. He ever viewed the Church of England as the venerable parent of the New-England churches, and to be revered as a church of Christ. Yet he deemed those churches, which he helped to rear in the American wilderness, more conformable to the gospel standard, than any others which he had known.

The meridian of his days, Mr. Winthrop spent in a peaceful retreat, in the endearments of domestic life, improving his paternal inheritance, equally useful and esteemed in the various duties of life to which he was called. Much of his time was employed in the pursuit of general science, and in the attainment of various kinds of practical knowledge, by which he became so eminently qualified for the illustrious services of his riper years. A mind naturally inquisitive, enjoying the leisure afforded by moderate affluence, with the privilege of numerous and respectable connections, could not fail to make the most valuable improvements.

When the plan was proposed by a number of pious and intelligent people to attempt the establishment of a Colony in America, on the principles of Christianity, Mr. Winthrop, cordially and deliberately, espoused the cause. On mature reflection, he resolved to renounce all the privileges and attachments of his country and his home, for the honour of his Lord, in the service of his church. The last effort was now to be made, for the establishment of a

church on the uncorrupted principles of gospel order, for the erection of a Christian republic, in which, the equal rights of man should be enjoyed without limitation, in which, the experience of all preceding ages, without the shackles of established systems, should be improved for the attainment of the highest blessings of human society. For the accomplishment of such an object, or even for the purpose of making a fair experiment for its attainment, so interesting in the history of man, the Christian and the Philanthropist could deem no privation of individual good too great a sacrifice. Such a character was Winthrop. And in the uncertain hopes of the prospective churches and colonies of New-England, he embarked his all.

When it was determined by the Company in England, who were incorporated for the settlement of the Massachusetts Colony, that the corporation and the charter should be transferred to America, Mr. Winthrop was unanimously chosen to be the governor of the infant colony. In the company were a number of persons of education and character, of family and estate, yet Mr. Winthrop was selected by a united voice for the highly responsible station to which he was called. In 1630, Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Dudley, the deputy governor, and the most of the assistants, with their families, and a company of about fifteen hundred planters, sailed to America, and established the Massachusetts Colony. The governors arrived at Salem in the ship *Arabella*, the twentieth of June. After long passages, all the ships arrived in safety. The wisdom and moderation of the governor were soon put to the trial. The Colony was in a great measure destitute of law, the places of the proposed settlements were not ascertained, the site of their principal town was yet to be determined. In such an unsettled state, especially when pressing circumstances require an immediate decision, such an endless variety of projects immediately arise, maintained with a pertinacity equalled only by their impracticability, as no mind but one of the firmest texture, no principle but the purest patriotism and an unshaken reliance on the di-

vine promises, can dare to encounter. Mr. Winthrop was at all times self-collected, listening with the most obliging condescension to every opinion which could claim any regard, acting, with all the light he could obtain, from his own best judgment, pursuing, invariably, the path pointed out by his duty to the colony, and his duty to God. By the great exertions of the governor and the principal persons of the colony, the people were tolerably provided with cottages by the approach of the ensuing winter.

The expenses incident to their new colony were much greater than had ever been anticipated by those who projected the settlement. As a great portion of the settlers possessed but little property, the expenses must be defrayed, principally, by the wealthy and the liberal. Mr. Winthrop possessed a landed interest in England worth six or seven hundred pounds a year. If we estimate money in reference to commodities three times more valuable at that time than at the present, the annual income of his estate could not be less than eight thousand dollars. This estate he converted into money, and it was freely devoted to the service of the colony. In this service the greater part of it was consumed.

The first winter passed by the colony in the wilderness, was a scene of anxiety and distress, at this distance of time, not to be described. A most severe season, a desolating sickness, an expected famine, filled every heart with dismay. The governor sought out the subjects of suffering, and administered every relief which could be bestowed by a liberal hand, an unshaken mind, a feeling heart. When he was giving the last handful of meal in his barrel to one that came to beg a supply for his starving family, the ship *Lion*, laden with provisions, appeared in the harbour.

The colony being a Christian settlement, the governor had little less care of their religious services than of the civil administration. He was the principal leader in establishing and guiding the churches, as well as in the councils of the state. In the spring of 1631, Mr. Wilson,

the minister of Boston, returned to England to bring his family. At his departure he exhorted his people to continue stedfast in love and the duties of religion, and desired that the duties of public worship as well as religious counsel and exhortation, should be performed by the two governors, Mr. Winthrop and Mr. Dudley, and Mr. Newell the elder of the church.

Notwithstanding the intimate concern which Mr. Winthrop always took in the duties of religion, no man could better understand or would more faithfully observe the respective limits of duty, of a Christian and a Magistrate. When Mr. Winthrop, as governor, had caused Mrs. Hutchinson and some of her adherents to be banished from the colony, that arch demagogue, Henry Vane, had such influence with some members of the church at Boston, as to procure a motion to summon Mr. Winthrop before the church for that transaction. Mr. Winthrop, with no less firmness than condescension, informed the church that Christ had never subjected the civil magistrate to the ecclesiastical authority, that such measures must be injurious to the church and the state, that he could never give account to them, as a judicatory, for any of his conduct as a civil magistrate.

The difficulties which were excited in the colony by the unhappy errors of Roger Williams, and afterwards by the absurd sentiments of Mrs. Hutchinson and her adherents, called for all the wisdom, the moderation, and the steadiness of the governor. These errors were not without some abettors who possessed much influence in the churches and colony. No ancient establishments existed to withstand the rage of innovation; few ecclesiastical or civil laws had been established; the magistrates had no advantage of a long exhibition of their virtues to inspire the people with veneration or confidence. The errors propagated by those enthusiasts were suited to excite the most irritable passions of the human mind, and perfectly calculated for the subversion of the churches and the colony. In almost any of the Grecian or Ionian Re-

publics, causes far less powerful would have produced a revolution in their government, in any period of their history. The Roman Senate did not exhibit more firmness or address when the Plebians retired to the Sacred Mount, or when Coriolanus was at their gates, than was exercised by Gov. Winthrop and some of the magistrates, in these interesting scenes. He caused the most dangerous disturbers of the peace to be removed from the colony, and cast a mantle of amnesty over others, that they might not discover their own deformity.

Though no man was more condescending in the ordinary intercourse of life, as a magistrate Mr. Winthrop ever pursued the path of duty with inflexible integrity. In 1634, on the application of the people of Newtown for leave to remove to the Connecticut, a large majority of the representatives, and a minority of the magistrates, were in favour of the removal, which the governor and a majority of the magistrates, at that time opposed. The question was now agitated for the first time, whether the magistrates should possess a negative voice on the house of representatives. The popular side at once enlisted, very strongly, the feelings of the greater part of the people. The firmness of the governor maintained the rights of the magistracy and preserved the state from anarchy. The same question was afterwards revived, but always in vain. In one or two instances, violent tumults arose respecting the proceedings of the courts. The decisive interposition, and undaunted perseverance of the governor, always dissipated the danger. Several instances are mentioned of persons of odious character, who were eminently exposed to popular violence. Though personally hostile to Mr. Winthrop, he would ever protect them from abuse, even at the hazard of his own safety, with the shield of authority. Some persons of high popular favour were sentenced to public punishment for their crimes. An affected sanctity, or pretended inspirations, or devotion to the public welfare, might strongly move the public feeling, but could never deter the governor from the execution of his duty,

A few years after the settlement of the colony, a general system of laws were formed, which have ever been the basis of the civil institutions of that noble commonwealth. These were prepared, in a great measure, by Mr. Winthrop. In short, no important measure was adopted by the colony during his life, which did not receive his careful consideration and concurrence.

The influence and usefulness of Mr. Winthrop were little less in the transactions of the churches, than in the civil concerns of the colony. The church at Boston, of which he was a member, was often disturbed by the most artful machinations of error and enthusiasm, to a degree, in some instances, which threatened permanent divisions if not ruin to the church. By his thorough knowledge of the Scriptures, and an attentive consideration of the standing of visible churches of Christ, no less than by his extraordinary acquaintance with the human character, he was eminently qualified to detect error and allay the animosities of contention. For a talent to controul the minds of men, when excited by popular fervor or enthusiastic zeal, perhaps, he has never been exceeded. When a continuance of debate must be evidently pernicious, with a singular felicity, he would turn the attention of an assembly to some general view of the subject in which they could not disagree, while the weight of truth and the importance of a common interest, would insensibly bear away the mind from the petulance of party, and prepare the way for union and quietness. He would accurately discriminate between the devoted servants of error and those who were misled by the facinations of delusion, and knew the treatment which their difference of character required. He was no less vigilant in anticipating the devices and preventing the effects of error, than successful in exposing its deformity. When the general Synod of the churches was appointed to be held at Cambridge, in Aug. 1637, for the purpose of deciding on various religious opinions, many of which had been debated with much ardor, discerning men viewed the measure as a hopeless ex-

pedient, that must issue, as such assemblies often have, in the permanent establishment of irreconcilable parties. Why should this ecclesiastical council restore tranquillity to the churches rather than the council of Nice, the council of Constance, or the Synod of Dort? There were many reasons. First, because these were eminently the humble churches of Christ, who sought and enjoyed his protection. Of the others, a principal was the talents and extraordinary exertions of Gov. Winthrop. The importance of the occasion called forth his utmost efforts. After a session of three weeks, the Synod came to a very happy conclusion, which issued in the general establishment of the churches in that gospel order, in which, by divine favour, they have continued, substantially, to the present time.

For three years after the establishment of the colony, in 1630, Mr. Winthrop was annually chosen governor. The idea of the expediency of a rotation in office, then began to prevail in the colony, on account of which, several of the magistrates were called necessarily, to the chair of government. Mr. Winthrop lived nineteen years after his arrival in the country, twelve of which, he held the governor's place. For the other seven, the duties of the office were performed by five different persons. Mr. Winthrop was in office the three last years of his life, and at the time of his death. But whether in or out of office, he was ever considered at home and abroad, the head of the colony. In times of danger, the colony always looked to him for counsel and for action, and he never disappointed their expectations.—His administration was distinguished for mildness. Being censured by some of the magistrates for what they conceived to be an improper lenity and remissness, he gave the following explanation: "Mr. Winthrop answered, that his speeches and carriage had been in part mistaken, but withal professed that it was his judgment, that, in the infancy of plantations, justice should be administered with more lenity than in a settled state, because people were then more apt to transgress, partly of ignorance of new laws and orders, partly through

oppression of business and other streights ; but if it might be made clear that it was an error, he would be ready to take up a stricter course.”*

Philip of Macedon was not more ready to be told the truth, to hear advice, and to receive friendly reproof, than Governor Winthrop. Acting, uniformly, from his own best judgment, he ever sought all the light and assistance to which he had access. Whenever any offence was taken at any of his conduct, in a public or private capacity, he was always ready, by the most obliging explanations, to remove any misapprehensions, and to obviate any prejudice which might exist. In these attempts, he never failed of success. In a few instances, his strong spirit, under uncommon provocations, led him to some hasty expressions, and some instances of conduct, which, on a careful review, he thought were not to be justified. Whenever this was the case, on a proper occasion, he would make explanations and acknowledgments, in which the Christian and the man seemed to triumph over every imperfection.

In his Christian character, Mr. Winthrop was eminently exemplary and faithful. The Scriptures were the subject of his constant study and most careful meditation. His mind, unfettered by systems, sought light from the fountain, the path of duty from the unerring guide. He ever viewed passing events as constituent parts of the great scheme of divine Providence, guided by unerring wisdom, directed to the best issue. These impressions regulated all his ordinary conduct. As connected with the American Colony, he ever considered himself as embarked in the cause, and acting for the interest of the church of Christ. To this principle, every local or private interest was subordinate. The colony was his family, the American wilderness was his place of labour, the church on earth was his country, heaven was his home.—The private duties of the Christian life, were objects of Mr. Winthrop's constant attention. His liberality was almost unlimited. He would frequently send a servant with an artificial

* His own Journal.

errand, to the families of the poor, at the time of meals, to learn their circumstances. If they were found needy, he would, in the tenderest manner, send a supply. Of the public worship and ordinances of God, he was an active and an effectual support. His exertions, no less than his example, were ever employed to lead his fellow-men to the place of worship, whither the people of God have always resorted with unmingled joy. It was his constant care to *walk within his house with a perfect heart*. His family, which, including domestics, was numerous, were taught the worship of God, and the truths and duties of the religion of his Son. Mr. Winthrop was distinguished for meekness and prayer. The humility and condescension of his demeanor, in all the changes of his life, were singularly conspicuous, and constituted one of the first qualifications for the arduous services which devolved upon him. This characteristic was eminently maintained by frequent and fervent prayer. God was ever in his view; he ever rejoiced in his perfections; in duty he implored his aid; in perplexity he relied on him for guidance; in afflictions he adored his righteous wisdom.

As a patriot, Gov. Winthrop will bear any comparison that may be adduced. It has already been mentioned, that the most of his great estate was spent in the service of the colony. In consideration of the great diminution of his property in the public service, he received at different times, considerable presents. In a speech at the opening of the General Court he spoke of these in the following manner. "That he had received gratuities from divers towns, which he accepted with much comfort and content; and he had likewise received civilities from particular persons, which he could not refuse without incivility in himself. Nevertheless, he took them with a trembling heart, in regard of God's word and the conscience of his own infirmities; and therefore he desired them that they would not hereafter take it ill, if he refused such presents for the time to come."* He took a most

* Magnalia.

comprehensive view of the true interests of New-England for the present and future times, and to the promotion of these, his utmost efforts were steadily directed. There is no appearance of any attempts to promote the interest of his own colony to the exclusion of the others. He viewed the whole as one connected community, united by a common interest, engaged in the pursuit of a common object.—The dazzle of a temporary approbation of the people, except as connected with their real and permanent interests, was never the object of his pursuit. His patriotism, instead of elevating his own country on the ruin or injury of others, sought the establishment of a civil community, on the principles of justice and philanthropy, alike happy in itself and beneficial to the world.—Though possessed of a good constitution, his indefatigable labours and incessant cares wore out his life before he had completed the ordinary course. What more justly than this, could be called dying for his country?—Like Moses, like Aristides, like Washington, Winthrop had his enemies; who suggested insinuations of misconduct in his public administration. The view of extraordinary virtue and uncommon public estimation, the cankered heart of malice can never endure. It always resorts to the same subject of complaint. ‘*Ye take too much upon you; such influence in the hand of an individual must be dangerous.*’ Mr. Winthrop desired an investigation of his official conduct, and was acquitted with great honour. On that occasion he remarked, “It repenteth me not of my cost or labour bestowed in the service of this commonwealth, but do heartily bless the Lord our God, that he hath pleased to honour me so far as to call for any thing he hath bestowed upon me, for the service of his church and people here, the prosperity whereof and his gracious acceptance shall be an abundant recompense to me.”*

In the beginning of the year 1649, having for some time previous been afflicted with various infirmities, which he viewed as indications of his approaching dissolution,

* Hutchinson.

Gov. Winthrop fell sick with a fever. The church held a fast on the occasion, humbly pleading with God, that their illustrious pillar might still be spared. But God was about to teach them to make himself alone their refuge and guide. In his sickness, after some short conflicts, he enjoyed the animating light of the divine countenance, cheerfully conversing with his Christian friends *on the hope set before us*. With great affection and fervor he commended to the faithfulness of God, of which he had enjoyed great experience, the infant churches and colonies of New-England. To his children, standing around him, he gave his parting counsel and dying blessing. He then committed his soul to God, and fell asleep, March 26, 1649. He had nearly completed the sixty-second year of his age.

Mr. Winthrop had very severe domestic trials, in the loss of wives and children. To these afflictions he submitted with the magnanimity of a Christian. A beloved son of great hopes, was drowned soon after he came to this country. The character of the father is strikingly marked in the manner in which he mentions this afflictive event in his journal. "Friday, July 2, (1630,) my son, Henry Winthrop, was drowned at Salem." This is not stoical, but the language of a submissive Christian, who views the holy hand of Jehovah in every event.

Mr. Winthrop left four sons, all of whom arrived to good estates, and to an honourable eminence in usefulness and character. His eldest son, John Winthrop, was the distinguished governor of Connecticut, who procured the Charter of the State. A son of this last Gov. Winthrop was also governor of Connecticut. Professor Winthrop of Cambridge, who died in 1779, was one of the most learned men New-England has produced. Of the family of Gov. Winthrop, Dr. Elliot observes, "Several of his posterity have exhibited the image of their illustrious ancestor, and his family have been more eminent for their talents, learning and honours, than any other in New-

England.”* Gov. Winthrop’s picture is preserved in the council chamber in Boston. A Journal, kept by him, from the time of his embarkation for America to the close of the year 1644, is preserved. It forms an octavo volume of 360 pages, and is the most valuable document of the early history of New-England that is extant.

GOVERNOR DUDLEY.

Mr. THOMAS DUDLEY was generally considered the second character in the Massachusetts Colony. He was a son of Capt. Roger Dudley of the English army, born at Northampton in England, in the year 1576. By the death of his parents in his childhood, he and an only sister were left to the care of the orphan’s God, and of relatives. By the attention of faithful friends, he received a good education in literature and manners. By one of his connections, he was instructed in a good knowledge of the law. He early, however, inclined to the profession of his father. In 1597, he received a captain’s commission from Queen Elizabeth, passed with his company to the Low Countries, and was at the siege of Amiens under Henry IV. of France. At the peace, which soon took place, he returned to England and settled near Northampton. By marriage, he came into the possession of a good estate. He now enjoyed the eminent ministry of Dodd, Hildersham, and some other distinguished Puritan divines. By the divine blessing on these sacred ministrations, he soon became a conscientious Non-conformist, and, by the influences of divine grace, the fearless soldier soon sunk into the character of a humble follower of the Prince of peace. He was eminently distinguished for a uniform sobriety, an integrity of character, and a conscientious observer of the duties of religion. He was soon employed by the Earl of Northampton to extricate his estate from a great burden of debt which had been left upon it by his ancestors. This service Mr. Dudley performed with suc-

* Biographical Dictionary of New-England.

cess, and continued in the employment and friendship of the Earl for a number of years.

When the proposed planters of New-England were about to sail for America, the Company chose Mr. Winthrop governor, and Mr. Dudley deputy governor. He was then fifty-four years of age ; one of the oldest of the New-England planters. Mr. Dudley lived twenty-three years in this country, was always one of the magistrates, and, the most of the time the deputy governor of the colony. In the years of 1634, 1640, and 1645, he was governor. In 1644, the office of Major-General of the military forces of the colony was created and given to Mr. Dudley. As a military character, he was probably the first in the colony.

As a magistrate, Mr. Dudley was much distinguished for great firmness of character, pursuing with an undeviating step, the true interests of the colony, according to the original design of the plantation. He never lost sight of the object of their migration to the western wilderness, the establishment of a Christian commonwealth, and of churches in gospel purity, and, to the attainment and preservation of this object, all his measures were steadily directed. Every departure from first principles, and every proposed innovation, however specious in theory, he resisted with an unyielding firmness. The allurements of vice and the pretences of error were equally insufficient to move his mind, or to change his course from the path of duty and truth. Temporary excitements of public feeling, had small influence on his opinions, and still less on his purposes of conduct. He was never so popular as some of the magistrates, but he always preserved the respect and veneration of the colony.

As a Christian, in public and private life, Gov. Dudley ever manifested a steady zeal for truth. In this part of his character, he was no less uniform and temperate, than in the duties of the magistracy. He was a faithful advocate of the doctrines of grace, and their firm supporter against all the errors of his time. The doctrines and the

order of the New-England churches, which he contributed much to establish, he believed to be conformable to the inspired standard; they were his comfort in life, his joy and hope at the end of his days.—In his private character, he was sober and devout, discovering in his whole demeanor a rational sense of immortality, and of his high obligations to the holy Saviour of sinners. His sense of divine things seemed to be the leading principle of his conduct.

Gov. Dudley was a very ardent friend to the interests of New-England. Its welfare and prosperity were the subject of his persevering labours, his constant solicitude, and his daily prayer to God. In his latter years he had much concern, lest the colonies would decline from their original purity; and bore a most earnest testimony against any relaxation in public sentiment or morals.

In the year 1653, this venerable pillar of New-England, and one of its principal founders, was removed to be, we trust, *a pillar in the temple of God*. He died greatly lamented, in the seventy-seventh year of his age. *Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.*



SECTION IV.

LIFE OF GOVERNOR HAYNES; GOVERNOR HOPKINS; AND
GOVERNOR EATON.

JOHN HAYNES, the first Governor of the Colony of Connecticut, was one of the most eminent of the venerable fathers of New-England. As a wise statesman, as a faithful patriot, as an amiable man, he was highly respected and beloved. It is our misfortune that the early writers have not given so large an account of this venerable patriot, as of some others of his time. Sufficient however remains, to teach us his uncommon worth, and to show the

mercy of Heaven in removing him from a situation of independent retirement in his native country, to encounter the fatigues and perils of the American wilderness, to become a principal founder of the civil and ecclesiastical institutions of our country.

Mr. Haynes came to New-England, in company with a considerable number of planters, many of whom were persons of note, in the year 1633. Their arrival at Boston, in September of that year, is thus noticed by Governor Winthrop: "The Griffin, a ship of 300 tons, arrived, having been eight weeks from the downs; she brought about two hundred passengers. In this ship, came Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker, and Mr. Stone, ministers; and Mr. Haynes, (a gentleman of great estate,) Mr. Goffe, and many other men of good estates." Mr. Haynes was, at that time, I conclude, about forty-five years of age. He was from the county of Essex in England, where he possessed an estate called Copford Hall, valued at a thousand pounds sterling a year. Soon after his arrival in New-England, he settled at Newtown with Mr. Hooker. His distinguished abilities and extensive information soon excited the attention of the colony, while his amiable manners endeared him to all his acquaintance. In 1634, the spring after his arrival, at the general election of the colony, he was chosen one of the assistants. The able and dignified manner with which he discharged the duties of a magistrate, was so acceptable to the colony, that, in the year following, 1635, he was elected governor. Concerning his public administration, the following mention is made in an ancient writing: "To him is New-England
" many ways beholden; had he done no more but still a
" storm of dissension, which broke forth in the beginning
" of his government, he had done enough to endear our
" hearts unto him, and to account that day happy when
" he took the reins of government into his hands."

In the spring of the year 1637, Mr. Haynes removed with his family to Connecticut, and lived at Hartford. The friendship between him and Mr. Hooker, warmed by

a constant discovery of each other's virtues, strengthened by common dangers and common cares in rearing the infant colony, nothing but death could dissolve. For two or three years after the first settlement of the towns on Connecticut River, they considered themselves as belonging to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. At the first general election in Connecticut, in 1639, Mr. Haynes was chosen governor. The constitution of the colony, at that time, required that the office of governor should not be held by any one person two successive years. Mr. Haynes was chosen to the office, whenever he was eligible, that is, every second year, from that time to his death, in 1654.

He was, more than any other man, the father of the colony. He ever possessed the highest confidence of the people, and the whole tenor of his public and private life convinced them that their confidence had never been misplaced. He was a man of affable manners, of dignified deportment, of a most amiable disposition, and of unfeigned piety. The honour of his Redeemer, and the prosperity of his kingdom, was the first object of his desire.

Though called to act in a less extensive sphere than Justinian, Sully, and Pitt, the happiness of his people under his administration, and the permanency of those institutions which he contributed primarily to establish, are a testimony to his talents and virtues, which entitle him to a rank among the first of statesmen. History does not inform us, precisely, to whom, among the fathers of Connecticut, we are chiefly indebted for our constitution and our fundamental laws. From what appears, however, Gov. Haynes was the principal. During his residence in Massachusetts, he was considered the only man, who, in talents and influence, could equal Gov. Winthrop. Of course, he was thought the most proper person to stand at the head of the sister colony.

As a patriot, the character of Gov. Haynes is conspicuous. At his emigration for America, he left his children in his native country, to whom, at his decease, he

transmitted his paternal inheritance. He brought, however, a large property to New-England, a great part of which was consumed for the support of the infant colony. Having never left his native land for the purpose of amassing wealth, but to enjoy the uncorrupted religion of his Saviour, and to assist in rearing churches for his praise ; his disinterestedness was ever a most distinguished feature of his character. During his short residence in Massachusetts, he afforded that colony important services. At his induction to the office of governor, he informed the legislature that he should receive none of the accustomed emoluments of office.—On his removal to Connecticut, he found the colony immediately involved in a most dangerous Indian war. The war, though successful, left the people in unexpected embarrassments, which were soon succeeded by a severe scarcity. The few that were rich, cheerfully devoted their property to the public necessity, and saved the infant plantation. The Governor, first in influence, was first in personal exertions, and in unreserved devotion to the public welfare. The colony, for many years, was small ; they were placed in the interior of the country ; surrounded with many savage tribes, whose friendship was always doubtful ; yet, by the wisdom, the liberality, and the unwearied exertions of their illustrious Christian patriots, under the favour of that God who had led them to the wilderness, they were preserved, they were prospered, and increased. Mr. Haynes possessed a most ardent desire for the prosperity of the colonies and churches of New-England, and for the advancement of that object, he could not make too great a sacrifice.

As a man, Mr. Haynes possessed a most amiable character, and was greatly beloved. *Blessed are the peacemakers.* Such, eminently, was he, and that blessing he now enjoys. The settlements and churches of Connecticut, for a number of years after their commencement, enjoyed great quietness and harmony. This is the more to be noticed, as all new settlements, are necessarily exposed

to a great variety of difficulties, and to innumerable unforeseen occurrences, calculated to disturb the public tranquillity. By the example, the vigilance, and the constant exertions of the governor, with the cordial co-operation of his illustrious codajutors, these evils were in a great measure avoided.

To all the eminent virtues of Gov. Haynes, he added the humble, faithful piety of a Christian. He was a man of pure morals, of incorruptible integrity, of ardent love to Christ and his earthly kingdom, without that tincture of extravagance which appeared in the characters of many eminent Christians of his time. With the easy manners of polished life, and the dignified deportment of the magistrate, he united the characteristic meekness of a humble follower of Immanuel. To the spiritual interests of his own soul, to the religious instruction and government of his family, he was peculiarly attentive. The public worship of God, his holy Sabbath, and the ordinances of his church, while they were the great comfort of his pilgrimage in the American wilderness, commanded his constant exertions for their support. To the many rites of human invention, which incumbered the religious services of the English establishment, he could not submit. The simple form of the New-England churches he approved, as agreeable to the divine pattern; and, in anticipation of their future increase, he greatly rejoiced. His efforts and his prayers that the churches might continue uncorrupted, that they might not forget their first love, nor decline from their original purity, were ardent and unceasing to the end of his days. In the beginning of the year 1654, this venerable servant of Christ was dismissed from his labours and entered into his rest. Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord,—that they may rest from their labours; and their works do follow them.

GOVERNOR HOPKINS.

Mr. EDWARD HOPKINS, descended from a reputable ancestry, was born at Shrewsbury, in England, in the year

1600. After enjoying the benefit of a good education in his childhood, he received a mercantile education in the city of London. He then became a merchant in that city, and was employed, principally, in the trade to Turkey. While in this employment; he became associated with certain pious Non-conformists, with whom he contracted an intimate acquaintance and cordial friendship. As he loved the religion of the gospel, he became strongly attached to those ministers of Christ, who loved and taught his religion in its native purity. As the Christian colonies of New-England were now rising to view, as many persons of reputable character and eminent piety, unwilling to submit to the burdensome ceremonies prescribed by the Church of England and now enforced by the arm of persecution, were resolving to seek an asylum on these western shores, and unite their efforts with those who had braved the first dangers of the wilderness, to establish a branch of the visible church of the Redeemer according to his own precepts, Mr. Hopkins could not contemplate the noble design without the deepest interest and solicitude. Finding that many persons, both of the clergy and laity, whose characters he venerated, whose virtues he tenderly loved, were engaged in this great enterprise, his spirit could no longer resist the sacred impulse. Renouncing the delicacies of affluent life, renouncing the prospects of gain in which he had been nurtured from his childhood, he engaged with the sincerest ardor for the service of the infant colonies, and for the pagan natives of the American wilderness; hoping in the favour of the holy Redeemer, that this desert might rejoice in *the excellency of Carmel and Sharon*;—*see the glory of the Lord, and the excellency of our God.*

Mr. Hopkins left his native country, in company with Mr. Eaton, Mr. Davenport, and others, and arrived at Boston in June, 1637. The arrival of so valuable a company greatly animated the people of the infant colonies. It was about a year before this company fixed upon a place for their residence. Mr. Hopkins, however, determined to unite with the Connecticut colony, and early in the

year, 1638, removed from his temporary residence in Massachusetts, and settled with his family in Hartford. He soon received that respect from the colony, to which, for his worth he was justly entitled. The people could not be insensible, that, after mature deliberation, Mr. Hopkins had selected their colony as the place to spend the remainder of his valuable life. At the first General Election, in 1639, Mr. Hopkin, was chosen one of the magistrates. In the following year, Mr. Haynes being constitutionally disqualified, Mr. Hopkins was appointed governor. Excepting the year 1642, in which Mr. Wyllys was governor, Mr. Hopkins held the place every second year, while he continued in the country. Mr. Haynes and Mr. Hopkins generally held the offices of governor and deputy governor, which were annually exchanged.

Mr. Hopkins brought a large property into the country, which he employed in the most beneficial manner for the interest of the infant colony. In the commencement of new settlements, he would frequently purchase a place and begin a valuable improvement. Without such efforts from wealthy and public spirited individuals, with the prospect of but a distant and uncertain return, in the feeble and embarrassed state of the colony, any enlargement of their borders could hardly have been attempted. In relinquishing the employments of commerce, Mr. Hopkins renounced the pursuit of gain as a chief object; to the service of Christ in the American churches, he devoted his services and his wealth, and he never changed his purpose.

As a magistrate, Mr. Hopkins was greatly beloved. His manners were pleasing, his deportment was marked with that engaging gravity which always accompanies a rational and habitual fear of God. It was his constant endeavour to regulate all his official duties by the rules of the divine law, and to conform the civil institutions of the colony, as far as possible, to the revealed precepts of God. He believed the true Christian character to be the first requisite qualification of a good magistrate, and was unwearied in his efforts to infuse that principle into the funda-

mental institutions of the colony.—By his extensive knowledge of business, by his large acquaintance abroad, improving a strong and well cultivated mind, Mr. Hopkins was eminently serviceable to the colony in the management of their foreign connections and external interests. In the discharge of these important services, his disinterestedness, his assiduity, and perseverance, were equalled only by his fidelity. When the Union of the four colonies was effected, in 1643, an event so important to the common welfare, Mr. Hopkins was one of the commissioners from Connecticut. To the same office he was generally appointed in the succeeding years.

In the Christian character, few can be found more deserving of imitation than Gov. Hopkins. He loved the New-England churches, the order in which they were established, the gospel truths which they confessed, and the discipline which they sought to maintain. To the private duties of the Christian life he was constantly attentive. It was his usual practice to rise very early in the morning, and spend some time in secret devotion. After which, he read and expounded the Scriptures and prayed with his family. He was much distinguished for uncommon fervor in prayer, and, at times, seemed almost on the verge of the heavenly state. The private meetings of Christians, of the nature of religious conferences, he often attended, and afforded his cheerful assistance for their improvement.—The piety of this excellent servant of Christ was equally conspicuous in the duty of Christian charity. As God had favoured him with the ability, so did he possess the disposition, always to remember the poor. In addition to the deeds of charity performed by his own hands, he often committed considerable sums to the disposal of friends, with an injunction to *do good unto all men, especially unto them who are of the household of faith*. Notwithstanding his great public liberalities, and his abounding charity, his estate did not become exhausted.

Mr. Hopkins was afflicted with very severe trials. His constitution was feeble and attended with many infirmities. He had a severe cough, with frequent turns of raising blood, for thirty years. His wife, on whom his affections were peculiarly placed, who was a daughter of Gov. Eaton's wife by a former husband, was afflicted, for many years with a distempered melancholy, which issued in an incurable insanity. In reference to this affliction, he observed, "I promised myself too much content in this relation and enjoyment; and the Lord will make me to know that this world shall not afford it me."

In the year 1654, on the death of his elder brother in England, from whom a considerable estate fell to Gov. Hopkins, he was under a necessity of going home, to attend to his affairs. He left his family in this country and expected to return. In 1654, though absent, he was chosen governor of the colony. Soon after his arrival in England, he was appointed Warden of the Fleet, a place which had been held by his brother, and, afterwards, Commissioner of the Admiralty, and member of Parliament. These employments, together with his private concerns, induced him to send for his family, who returned to England. Though re-established in his native land, he could never forget New-England, the country which he eminently loved. He was, probably, more useful to the colonies, after his return to England, than he could have been had he continued to reside among them. The New-Haven Colony compiled a body of laws which they sent to Gov. Hopkins, that he might procure them to be printed. He procured the impression at his own expense, and sent the prescribed number of copies to the colony. His influence was constantly exerted with the government and with influential characters for the good of the colonies.

But his valuable life was now drawing to a close. Soon after his return to his native country, he found his infirmities increasing, and his feeble constitution sinking under their weight. This was a principal cause of his relinquishing the design of re-visiting America. In his latter

years his Christian character seemed to brighten with increasing splendour. He would often speak of the anticipated joy of meeting his Christian friends in America, in the realms of glory. "How often have I pleased myself with thoughts of a joyful meeting with my father Eaton. "I remember with what pleasure he would come down the street, that he might meet me, when I came from Hartford to New-Haven. But with how much greater pleasure shall we shortly meet one another in heaven."

Early in the year 1657, his disorders increased to severe sickness. He was now sensible that he was near the close of life. For a time, his mind was clouded with a distressing darkness. But after a few days, about the time that public prayers were offered for him on the Sabbath, the holy Comforter dissipated the gloom, and let in upon his soul the rays of promised grace. His heart broke forth in the most animated manner, "O Lord, *thou hast kept the good wine until now.* O friends, could you believe this? I shall be blessed forever, I shall quickly be in eternal glory. I have heretofore thought it an hard thing to die, but now I find it is not so. Oh, blessed be God for Jesus Christ." One standing by, observed to him, "Sir, the Lord hath enlarged your faith." He replied, "Friend, this is sense; the Lord hath even satisfied my sense; I am sensibly satisfied of everlasting glory." He pronounced his affectionate blessing upon New-England; adding, "The Lord hath planted that land with a noble vine; and blessed hast thou been, O land, in thy rulers." In March, 1657, in the city of London, he expired, in the fifty-eighth year of his age.

In the disposition of his property, he manifested the same charitable spirit which had distinguished his life. His whole estate in New-England, he gave to charitable and public uses. After several individual legacies, one thousand pounds were given for the support of Grammar Schools in Hartford and New-Haven. Those funds are still preserved. From his estate in England, he ordered five hundred pounds to be paid to Trustees whom he named in

the colonies, "for the upholding and promoting the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, in those parts of the earth." This fund is held by Harvard College.*

GOVERNOR EATON.

No one of our venerable fathers is better known in the histories of New-England than the celebrated founder of the colony of New-Haven. His talents, his piety, his persevering zeal, his uncommon sacrifices for the establishment of these colonies, will ever entitle him to the high veneration and grateful remembrance of posterity. No men could have less inducements of a personal nature, to exchange the felicities of their situation in their native country for the perils of a wilderness, than Mr. Eaton and Mr. Hopkins. But their zeal for the church of Christ was paramount to every other consideration. Rather, God had now designed, in his adorable mercy, to establish Christian settlements, and gospel churches in the American land. Such instruments were necessary to accomplish this great design. He who holds all hearts at his will, disposed them for the work.

THEOPHILUS EATON was born at Stratford in Oxfordshire, in the year 1590. His father was the minister of the place ; but removed soon after and became a minister in Coventry. He there contracted, in his childhood, that

* We seldom find nobler thoughts or more energetic expressions in an Epitaph, than in the one inscribed to Gov. Hopkins.

EPI TAPH.

Part of

EDWARD HOPKINS, ESQ.

But Heaven not brooking that the Earth should share
In the least atom of a piece so rare,
Intends to sue out, by a new Revise,
His *Habeas Corpus* at the Grand Assize.

P *

peculiar friendship with Mr. Davenport, whose father was an eminent merchant in the town, which continued till their deaths. In Coventry, under the care of an able father, Mr. Eaton enjoyed the privilege of a good academic education, which was very profitably improved. His parents intended this son for the work of the gospel ministry, and, with that view, took much pains with his education. But on a discovery of his inclinations, as he advanced towards manhood, this object was relinquished, and he was educated for a merchant. In his youth he was distinguished for sobriety, and an uncommon diligence in business. Such habits, united with a quick apprehension and a sound judgment, could hardly fail of commanding success in his pursuits. Settling in the city of London, he engaged in the East-India trade, and soon became a merchant of great credit. He became a member of the East-India Company, and was chosen deputy governor of the company. For several years, he was agent for the King at the Court of Denmark. For his services and fidelity, he received testimonials of particular acknowledgment from the East-India Company, and from the Danish King.

During the time in which Mr. Eaton was engaged in his mercantile pursuits, the settlement of the Massachusetts colony was projected, on the principles of religion, for the establishment of Christian churches according to the precepts of the gospel. In this undertaking, Mr. Eaton cordially engaged, and afforded important assistance. He was one of the original patentees of the colony, and, at the organization of the company in England, he was chosen one of the Assistants. He did not then design to remove to America, but by his influence and his property he afforded much assistance in the prosecution of the arduous enterprize.—At that time Mr. Davenport was a minister in London, highly esteemed, and was very active in promoting the establishment of the New-England colonies. As Mr. Eaton enjoyed the ministry of this companion of his youth; as they were mutually engaged for the

spread of the gospel of salvation in parts of the earth which had long been the seat of paganism, their friendship grew to an attachment not to be broken.

The persecution of the Non-conformists, which, under the administration of Archbishop Laud, raged with increased rigour, rendered the situation of those who scrupled to comply with the prescribed ceremonies peculiarly unpleasant, if not highly dangerous. Mr. Davenport was obliged to fly to Holland, and was absent about two years. After his return, the burdensome imposition of ecclesiastical rites continually increasing, he and a number of his friends resolved to imitate the faithful servants of Christ, who had for his sake been *made a spectacle unto the world, and to angels, and to men*. At the hazard of all worldly good, they would attempt the establishment of a settlement, in the unoccupied wastes of America, the chief object of which should be the service and glory of God. In this undertaking, Mr. Eaton cordially engaged. A company was formed which was one of the most opulent and respectable that ever came to New-England. They arrived at Boston in the summer of 1637, and the spring following began the settlement and Colony of New-Haven.

Mr. Eaton was at all times, the head and father of the colony. At the first General Election in 1639, he was chosen Governor, and was re-chosen every year to his death, in 1657. The colony had too great a sense of his worth, and of their own interest, ever to entertain a thought of a change. Mr. Eaton was eminently calculated to be the leader of a colony. He possessed a large interest, the greater part of which, was brought to this country. He was thoroughly versed in business, and was always fruitful in expedients in times of unexpected difficulty and danger. The high character which he sustained in his native country, joined with his talents and integrity, procured him universal confidence. Indefatigable in his labours, his care, his exertions, his property, were always devoted to the interests of the colony. His talents, his disinterested-

ness, his devotion to the public welfare, gave him an influence and a command of the minds of men, which very few have ever possessed. Having engaged in this arduous work for the honour of God and the service of the church of Christ, the consideration of personal convenience, much less the temporary impulse of popular applause, could never influence his conduct. The tempests of adversity could never divert his purpose, for he had cast anchor within the veil.

As a civilian, the views of Mr. Eaton were, for his time, uncommonly liberal and extensive. He was the most influential agent in establishing the connection and union of the colonies of New-England, which laid the foundation of their permanent security and increase. From the formation of this union, in 1643, he was always one of the commissioners till his death. He was ever attentive to all objects which concerned the common welfare, and perceived the true interests of the colonies with the most discerning judgment. Great reliance was placed on Mr. Eaton to guard the plantations against the encroachments of the Dutch from Hudson's River, and his vigilance and prudence were equal to public expectation. I believe no man in the United Colonies possessed a greater weight of character than Gov. Eaton.

As a magistrate, he was equalled by very few of his time. A fact evincive of this, is, the colony of New-Haven was distinguished above all the others, for union, harmony, and internal tranquillity. This excellent magistrate inspired even the natives with such a confidence in his justice and his ascendancy over his own people, that the colony suffered very little from any of their hostile machinations. In his public administrations, he maintained the operation of the laws, and administered justice with incorruptible integrity and inflexible firmness. In his private character, he was affable and courteous, but, in his official capacity, he would never suffer any disobedience or contempt. The accounts of the time represent him as

possessing, on the bench of justice, a majestic dignity not to be described. While the faithful citizen always enjoyed his protection, the wicked never dared to defy his authority. When laws are few, and no established usages exist, such personal virtues and influence in the magistrate are essential to the safety of civil society. Gov. Eaton was the principal legislator of his colony. The judicial laws contained in the Scriptures were his great guide, and he ever kept in view the original design of the plantation, the maintenance of pure religion, and the enjoyment of civil liberty. At the request of the legislature, he compiled a code of laws for the colony, which were examined and approved in 1655, and were published in England by the care and liberality of Gov. Hopkins. As a prodigy in the history of mankind, notwithstanding the extraordinary influence of Winthrop, Bradford, Haynes, Hopkins, Eaton, we find no feature in their laws, which indicates any design to extend the powers of the chief magistrate to the disadvantage of the public liberty.

In his private life, Mr. Eaton possessed a uniform gravity and dignity of manners, which showed how awful and excellent is exalted virtue. He was always friendly and benevolent, with his friends easy and pleasant, but his characteristic gravity never forsook him. Fond of books, as much of his time as could be spared from more important duties, he spent in his study. His mind and his heart were always engaged to promote the welfare of his own and the other colonies of New-England. He considered this as the fairest and perhaps the last experiment for the establishment of a Christian commonwealth. The object was too great, the claims of posterity too strong, not to engage all the powers of his soul. On an occasion of peculiar trials, his wife observed to him, "Let us even go back to our native country." He replied, referring to the probability that she would outlive him, "You may, but I shall die here."

In his Christian character, Gov. Eaton was distinguished for humility. He always bore an habitual sense of the holy presence of God. His holy and universal government, his infinite perfections, his own weakness and guilt, were ever familiar to his mind. Under the trial of the loss of a son of great hopes, his usual constancy, for a moment, seemed to fail. He then observed, "There is a difference between a sullen silence, or a stupid senselessness, under the hand of God, and a child-like submission thereunto." It was a frequent remark with him, "Some count it a great matter to *die well*, but I am sure it is a great matter to *live well*."—In his conversation, Mr. Eaton was noted for a singular regard to perfect truth. It was his uniform custom to retire to his study in the morning for secret devotion, before he entered upon the duties of the day. "After this, calling his family together, he would read a portion of the Scripture, and after some devout and useful reflections upon it, he would make a prayer, not long, but extraordinary pertinent and reverent; in the evening some of the same exercises were again attended." On Saturday evenings and on the Sabbath, he would read a sermon in his family and sing. On the Sabbath, it was his practice to catechize his family, and question them, particularly, with regard to what they had heard at public worship. Solemn days of Humiliation and Thanksgiving were spent in the same manner. His family, though very numerous, sometimes not less than thirty persons, was regulated with the greatest order, and every individual received his particular attention for religious instruction. By his domestics he was greatly beloved, and his domestic example was always considered the greatest benefit to all who lived in his house.

In January, 1657, after a short illness, this venerable servant of Christ, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, was released from scenes of incessant care and labour, and, leaving a bereaved people in tears, was removed to join the holy assembly of *the spirits of just men made perfect*.

SECTION V.

LIFE OF REV. MR. COTTON, MINISTER OF BOSTON.

HAVING attempted, in the preceding Sections, to give a sketch of the lives of some of the civil fathers of New-England, we will now take a brief view of some of the principal divines. These were not less conspicuous for their merits and services, than the civilians. Though the limits of their respective departments were well understood and carefully preserved, they afforded a constant and mutual support to each other, and were cordially united in the promotion of the common object for which they had migrated to the western wilderness. The establishment of a Christian Commonwealth, composed of pure evangelical churches, and a Republic supported by the true principles of civil liberty, was the great cause in which they were all embarked. For the attainment of such an object, no less wisdom, prudence, and fidelity, were requisite in the ministers of the churches, than in the civil magistrates. While the one gave law to the rising states; the other established their religious order. While one administered the political concerns of the community; the other superintended the interests of religion and public morals. The one were a constant shield against foreign enemies; the other were a most vigilant guard against the corruptions of error and vice. As these respective duties were equally essential to the security and prosperity of the infant colonies, the holy providence of God prepared characters for the arduous service, eminently fitted for the great design. As the political institutions of the New-England Colonies were original, without a precedent in the history of civil states; so the religious order of the churches was formed upon a model, found only in the precepts of the divine Redeemer, and in the Christian churches of the primitive times. The civilian had his guide in the best political writings of various na-

tions, and in the many precepts upon civil government contained in the word of God : the divine had his guide in the unerring truths of inspiration, and in the concise history which remains of the early period of the Christian church : but both were called to strike out a new path, new in the history of churches and states of many ages ; and, by the lights which they enjoyed, guided by the most careful investigation of the human character, to establish this prepared habitation for the divine blessing, on a most salutary and durable foundation. One of the most eminent instruments employed in the accomplishment of this great work, was the celebrated minister of Boston, the

REV. JOHN COTTON.

After mentioning the arrival of Mr. Cotton, in company with Mr. Haynes, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Stone, and others ; Mr. Hutchinson remarks, “ Mr. Cotton is supposed to have been more instrumental in the settlement of their civil as well as ecclesiastical polity than any other person.”

Mr. Cotton was born in the town of Derby, the county town of Derbyshire, December, 1585. Descended from a very reputable ancestry, his immediate parents held a respectable station in society, but were more distinguished for their eminent piety. His father was bred to the profession of the law, and spent most of his days in the practice. He was much distinguished for persuading parties to come to a settlement of their disputes, and avoid a legal trial.—This son was a child of many hopes and many prayers. His infant mind was nurtured by the care of a most faithful mother, and received early impressions of the reality and importance of the truths of God. He was early placed at school, under the care of a judicious instructor in his native town. The powers of his mind, and the assiduity of his application soon caused him to be distinguished, and enabled him to make an uncommon progress in his studies. At the age of thirteen, he was ad-

mitted a member of Trinity College, in Cambridge. While at College, he was distinguished for his application to study, and for an uncommon proficiency in science. During his residence at the University, he was elected a Fellow of Emmanuel College. At his admission to the fellowship, he was required to pass a very strict examination; on which occasion, he was directed to render in English from the Hebrew, the latter part of the third chapter of Isaiah, supposed to be as difficult as any passage in the Old Testament. He performed the service with accuracy and great applause. Soon after this, he commenced a preacher, and delivered some occasional discourses in the presence of the University. The extensive learning, the elegance of composition, and the eloquent delivery of these sermons procured Mr. Cotton much distinction and fame at the University. But though he was a profound scholar and an eloquent orator, and free from any special immoralities of life, he did not possess the first qualifications of a minister of Christ; the sanctifying grace of God in his heart. This he fully testified of himself, through the remainder of his life.

During the period of his pupilage at the University, his mind was much impressed with a solemn sense of divine things, under the ministry of that eminently pious, puritan divine, Mr. William Perkins. He was strictly Calvinistic in sentiment, and one of the most noted practical preachers of his time. But these early impressions upon the mind of Mr. Cotton proved to be temporary, and the ardour with which he pursued his literary studies seemed to allow no time to seek the welfare of his immortal soul. And it is said that the death of Mr. Perkins, when Mr. Cotton was seventeen years of age, gave him a secret satisfaction, expecting a release from those stings of a wounded conscience, and those alarming views of the eternal state, which his pungent preaching would ever excite in his mind. But the faithful dedication and persevering prayers of his pious parents were not forgotten on high, and though one instrument was removed, the Holy Spirit

would not forsake his soul. Not long after he commenced a preacher, he was very deeply impressed by a solemn sermon on the insufficiency of a negative righteousness, or a mere blameless character in the view of men. He soon became sensible of his lost state, and found that, with all his learning and fame, he must perish for ever, unless saved by the free grace and unmerited mercy of God. In this state of mind he continued for nearly three years. He continued to pursue his studies, directing his attention, principally, to divinity. It pleased the holy Comforter, at length, to bring him out of the gloomy valley, and to give him to realize the hope and the joy of the believer. He was now animated with new views of divine truth, and with a new zeal to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ. Soon after this, being called to preach before the University, instead of a rich entertainment of science, as was expected, he gave his learned audience a plain, solemn, and affectionate discourse on the doctrine of repentance. Great was the disappointment. The most of his hearers were displeased ; but some were much affected, and found no relief from the sorrows of a wounded spirit, till they were brought, by divine grace, to submit unconditionally to God.

Some time after this important change in the character of Mr. Cotton, he received a call from the town of Boston, in Lincolnshire, to settle in that place in the work of the ministry. He was much attached to his residence at Cambridge, yet, after seeking earnestly for divine direction, he thought it his duty to accept the call. Soon after his settlement, his fidelity and abilities were brought to a severe test. The sentiments of Arminius had just begun to prevail in the nation ; and being congenial to the natural temper of the human heart, they obtained a very rapid increase. Several of the principal people of Boston, among whom was a physician of great learning and a subtle disputant, warmly espoused the Arminian tenets. After a prayerful and laborious study of the Scriptures, Mr. Cotton became fully convinced of the truth of the Calvinistic

system, and found himself compelled to oppose the prevailing errors. This he did with such a modest candour, with such a sincere conviction of duty, and with such an overwhelming force of argument, that the most of those who had fallen in with the popular error, became convinced, and the remainder were compelled to be silent.

Mr. Cotton's ministry in Boston, which continued for about twenty years, was eminently accompanied with the divine blessing. Great numbers, apparently, became the subjects of the saving grace of God. A general reformation of morals was observable in the town, so that it became distinguished for solemnity and order. Many pious people, some of whom were persons of distinction, moved to the town, to enjoy the privilege of Mr. Cotton's ministry. Such indeed, was the visible change in the character of the town, that the magistrates and people were generally denominated *Puritans*.

Mr. Cotton had not been long in the ministry at Boston before he entertained his doubts of the lawfulness of many of the prescribed services and ceremonies of the Episcopal Church. After a full examination of the subject, he became convinced of his duty to decline a compliance with those ordinances of human appointment. The principal reason which he assigned for his non-conformity was the high injunction of Christ; *teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you*. From this he argued that nothing was to be enjoined in the precepts and duties of religion, which was not commanded by Christ. And the controverted ceremonies being, confessedly, of human appointment, a compliance with them, as a part of religious service, was unlawful. Such was the weight of the reasons with which Mr. Cotton vindicated his conduct, and the personal influence of his character, that the people of the town, generally, coincided with his sentiments. The Liturgy was laid aside in their public worship, the appointed vestments of the clergy were disused, the sign of the cross was omitted in baptism, and was removed from the mace, the ensign of au-

thority generally borne by the mayor of the town. In an attentive examination of this subject, Mr. Cotton became convinced that the power and duties of a Christian bishop, according to the divine rule, were ordinarily limited to a single congregation; and that Christ has committed to an individual church all the authority of discipline which he has delegated to his people on earth. In conformity with these sentiments, a large number of pious people in Boston united in church state, by entering into covenant with God and one another, "to follow after the Lord, in the purity of his worship."

A character so conspicuous as Mr. Cotton, one possessed of such commanding powers of eloquence, and such persuasive influence, could not escape the vigilance of those who were resolved to enforce conformity with all the prescribed ceremonies of the established church. As Mr. Cotton neglected to comply with an order from the ecclesiastical court to observe the appointed ceremonies, he was suspended from the rights of his ministerial office. The period was not long, however, before the suspension, through the persevering exertions of friends, was removed. Though he still remained a conscientious and firm Non-conformist, by endeavouring to avoid all unnecessary occasion of offence, and by a steady fidelity in the service of his Lord, he was suffered to remain unmolested for several years. To this, the esteem in which he was held by many persons of high rank and influence, greatly contributed. The Earl of Dorchester having been much affected by his preaching, was his uniform friend at court. And Bishop Williams, lord keeper of the great seal, begged of king James, that a man of so much worth and learning might have liberty of preaching without interruption, though he were a Non-conformist.

Towards the latter part of Mr. Cotton's ministry in Boston, Bishop Laud rose to great influence with the king, and commenced a persecution of all Non-conformists, more vigorous than had been attempted by any of his predecessors. The faithful ministers of Christ can never want

accusers, when accusations against them are encouraged by authority. A complaint was made to the court of High-Commission, that Mr. Cotton and the magistrates of Boston omitted to conform with several of the prescribed ceremonies. The pursuivants were immediately sent to apprehend Mr. Cotton, who found it necessary to be concealed. The Earl of Dorchester remained his friend and interceded in his behalf. He informed him that if he had been accused of vices, he could have procured his release, but for non-conformity, no pardon was to be obtained. He therefore advised him to secure his safety by flight. Laud had often heard of his fame, and was particularly solicitous to suppress his influence. As he would have been exposed to perpetual imprisonment had he been apprehended, he found himself subjected to the painful necessity of bidding a final adieu to his native country. Some eminent divines, not willing to lose a person of Mr. Cotton's worth, and knowing him to be distinguished for an unusual candour of mind, took pains to confer with him on the common subjects of religious controversy, hoping to persuade him to conformity; but the issue of these conferences was, that Mr. Cotton's friends came into his sentiments. Having adopted the resolution of leaving his country, he consulted with his friends with regard to the place to which he should direct his course. He first designed to go to Holland; but the unfavourable report of that country, given him by Mr. Hooker, determined him to relinquish that object. The Island of Barbadoes, and New-England, were then contemplated. After much deliberation, advice and prayer, he determined on the latter.

Mr. Cotton arrived at Boston, in New-England, in September, 1633. His arrival, with the other eminent characters of the company, filled the colony with peculiar joy. Soon after his arrival, the church in Boston, of which Mr. Wilson was pastor, at the recommendation of the General Court, chose Mr. Cotton to be their teacher, who was accordingly set apart to that office. The town

was named Boston, in honour of Mr. Cotton, who removed from the town of that name in England.

Mr. Cotton came to New-England about three years after the arrival of the large company that established the Massachusetts colony. The civil and ecclesiastical regulations of the colony had not become settled, and in the establishment of these, he was very active and useful. Various alterations were introduced in the order of the church of Boston, and as this was the largest, and generally considered the first church in the colony, the regulations established in that, were mostly adopted by the others. The rules of admission and discipline, as well as the doctrines of faith, were more accurately determined, and more generally understood.

In the year 1634, the colony was thrown into a great ferment in consequence of the magistrates exercising the right of a negative voice upon the people in the General Court. The Court adjourned and ordered a day of humiliation and prayer to be observed in all the congregations. On this occasion, Mr. Cotton preached from Hag. ii. 4. *Yet now be strong, O Zerubbabel, saith the Lord: and be ye strong, O Joshua, son of Josedech the high priest; and be ye strong, all ye people of the land, saith the Lord, and work; for I am with you, saith the Lord of Hosts.* He pointed out the respective rights and duties of the different classes of the community, and enforced the necessity of subordination and mutual harmony, with so much clearness and energy, introducing with peculiar felicity the expected aid and presence of the Lord of Hosts in their great work, that the public commotions were effectually allayed, and the reasonable claim of the magistrates was established by a general acquiescence. On a similar occasion, old Rome would have resorted to prodigies, the republics of Greece would have taken arms, the rulers of superstitious pagans or catholics would have produced pretended revelations; but the fathers of New-England needed nothing but the testimonies of the known truth of God, ably illustrated and happily applied.

In the unhappy tumults which were excited in the colony, by the errors of Roger Williams, Mrs. Hutchinson, and others, Mr. Cotton generally inclined to the side of lenity, and made great exertions to reclaim those who fell into error, previous to their being cut off from the communion of the churches. His moderation, with all his powers of reasoning, and great knowledge of divine truth, could not save the most obstinate, but preserved many who were inclined to the danger, from falling into the snare, and maintained the unity of the churches. In the general Synod of the churches held at Cambridge, August, 1637, he united with the other members in condemning the prevailing errors, which restored the public tranquillity.

The ministry of Mr. Cotton, in New-England, as well as in his native country, was attended with the special blessing of God. The church of Boston was eminently distinguished for purity, in sentiment and morals; and for the uncommon attainments of many of its members. The influences of divine grace were displayed upon the people, and great additions were made to the church, of those who became ornaments of the Christian profession. The town was very eminent for public order and morality, for a sacred observance of the Sabbath, and the various duties of religion. The habits of character then formed, were so judiciously and firmly established, that they continued with little relaxation for three or four generations.

In the early times of New-England, it was common for the magistrates to consult the elders of the churches, on subjects of the most important deliberation for the general welfare. Mr. Cotton was much improved in this way, and, by his extensive erudition, his great knowledge of the human character, and his habits of accurate discrimination in judgment, was eminently useful. The General Court, knowing that the political institutions of the Israelites have been the chief guide of all great legislators of ancient and modern times, desired Mr. Cotton, with the assistance of Gov. Winthrop, to make an abstract of the judicial

laws of Moses, and prepare them for their adoption. These were approved by the General Court and became the fundamental laws of the colony.

The parliament having become the ruling party in the civil contentions in England, Mr. Cotton was invited to return to his native country. Several members of both houses of the parliament sent to him pressing invitations for this purpose. But the increase of the civil war, with the severe calamities with which it was attended, induced him to decline a compliance with their earnest request. He was also appointed one of the members of the venerable assembly of divines which met at Westminster, together with Mr. Hooker and Mr. Davenport, but they did not attend.

The labours of this venerable servant of Christ, for the benefit of his people, for the churches and people of the colony and of New-England, and for the cause of divine truth, were unremitted and unwearied, for almost twenty years. Going to Cambridge to preach an occasional lecture to the College, he got wet in crossing the ferry. This brought on an asthmatical complaint, which continued to increase. He did not, however, remit his public labours, though sensible that his end was approaching. Being in a course of preaching, near the close of the second Epistle to Timothy, he took for his text the four last verses of the book. He gave his people the reason for taking so many verses, "Because else I shall not live to make an end of this Epistle." He insisted principally on the last words, *Grace be with you all*. On the succeeding Sabbath he preached his last sermon, on the glory of Christ, from John i. 14. He then spent a day of secret humiliation and prayer, earnestly imploring the assistance of the Holy Spirit in the great work of dying. He then took his leave of his beloved study, observing that he should never enter it again. In his sickness, he enjoyed the comforts of divine grace, and an animating foretaste of heavenly blessedness. He observed that he felt a greater willingness to depart, from the expectation of

joining in communion and praise with those departed saints, Perkins, Ames, Preston, Hildersham, and Dodd, with all others of that great Assembly. All classes of people visited him in his sickness, to hear his instructions and receive his blessing. Mr. Wilson, his colleague, said to him, he hoped God would lift upon him the light of his countenance. He replied, "Brother, he has done it already." To his brethren in the ministry, warning them to be faithful in their work, he observed, "I have now through grace been more than forty years a servant unto the Lord Jesus Christ, and have ever found him a good master." A little before his departure, he desired not to be interrupted by conversation, and calmly resigning his soul to the hand of God, he entered into his rest. He died Dec. 1652, having just completed the sixty-seventh year of his age. The whole colony most affectionately lamented his death; for, in his particular province, as a minister of Christ, he was truly their father and head. The neighbouring colonies took a share in the general loss.

This great man, possessed by nature, an uncommon strength of mind, with great brilliancy of genius. His genius was conspicuous in his childhood, and appeared still brighter during his residence at the University. He possessed a great thirst for knowledge, and pursued his object with an ardour which no ordinary obstacles could obstruct. Such was the versatility of his genius, that, with equal facility, he could investigate the principles of ancient language, penetrate the depths of the mathematics, or detect the subtleties of metaphysical controversy. The strength of his mind was evinced by his high attainments in science, and the rank which he maintained in the learned world, through the whole of his life. The age in which he lived was inquisitive, and prolific in great scholars. At the same time, the sources of science had been but imperfectly explored, and greater individual powers were necessary for high attainments in learning, than in subsequent periods.—His disposition for application,

and habits of study were equal to the powers of his intellect. For his intense application to study, he was distinguished in early life, and, by early habit, his constitution became suited to the service. It was his ordinary practice to spend in study twelve hours in a day.—It is unnecessary to add that he was a person of extensive learning. As a scholar, he ranked with Owen, Ames, Twisse, and Selden, who were among the first scholars of their time. Dr. Preston, Professor of Divinity at the University of Cambridge, would often advise his pupils to spend some time with Mr. Cotton, previous to entering on the work of the ministry. The learning in which he most excelled was the science of divinity. He had a great knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and an extraordinary acuteness of mind in discerning the scope of the inspired writers, as well as in detecting and exposing the various errors of his time. He was one of the most acute controversial writers of the age. Dr. Twisse, who was the moderator of the venerable Westminster Assembly of Divines, declared him to be one of the ablest polemical writers, he had known. His talents were most usefully employed in exposing and refuting the Arminian and Antinomian errors which had many and powerful advocates.—Mr. Cotton appears to have been no less distinguished for soundness of judgment, and prudence of conduct, than for vigour of intellect. This appears from the uncommon success which attended the most of his designs. Though a firm Non-conformist, he maintained his place as a public minister in the Church of England, for about twenty years. He succeeded in bringing the most of the people of the town where he lived, with many of his acquaintance, who were persons of learning and character, into his own sentiments. The influence which he possessed in New-England, shows him to have had a great knowledge of the human heart, and to possess, in an eminent degree, that uncommon talent of controuling the minds of men. The fundamental institutions of New-England, particularly those which are of an ecclesiastical nature, of which he was the principal

author, to say nothing of their nature, by their duration for nearly two centuries, through various changes of society, are a sufficient evidence of the soundness of his judgment, and the sagacity of his foresight.

Mr. Cotton was truly an independent man. He thought and acted, uniformly, for himself. Not more anxious to oppose than to coincide with public sentiment, he made truth his only guide, and duty his only object. Habituated to reflection, he carefully examined every object of attention.

He had a strong spirit, and was at times impatient of opposition. With a confidence in his own judgment, and in the uprightness of his intentions, he was perhaps not sufficiently willing to weigh the opinions of others. Yet, by long and persevering attention, he succeeded in gaining an uncommon mastery of his temper, so that in his latter years he was seldom known to be discomposed. In the unavoidable perplexities of an infant country, he, as well as his great and excellent friend Gov. Winthrop, had numerous trials, many of which were altogether unexpected and peculiarly painful to their feelings. But, by the precepts of the gospel, aided by divine grace, they attained to a humility, a self-possession, an equanimity of conduct, which heathen pride and heathen apathy never could reach.

Few characters have given greater evidence of true piety than Mr. Cotton. In a person of high intellectual attainments, and strong natural temper, the religion of the Holy Spirit has to contend with obstacles, which, in persons of feeble mental powers, and milder disposition, are never found. In such, therefore, the evidences of divine grace are generally more conspicuous, and to them a greater portion of it is usually imparted. Great was the evidence of grace, when in early life, he renounced the enchantment of literary fame, which had long dazzled before him with the most fervid lustre, to preach before the University the humble doctrines of the divine Nazarene. Though preachers of small education generally introduce in their

public performances, the last scraps of learning which they possess, this was never the practice of the learned Cotton. For the sake of a conscientious observance of the precepts of the gospel, he deliberately renounced the prospect of the highest preferments in the church; yea he renounced his country and his kindred for an untraversed wilderness. As it has often been the case that men of the strongest mental powers and highest intellectual attainments have been the most distinguished for humility, this grace was very eminent in the character of Mr. Cotton. The meekest man on sacred record was one of the greatest men that appears in history, and *learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians*, the most refined nation then on earth. Mr. Cotton, in all his conduct and demeanor, manifested a solemn sense of the steady presence of God, of his own unworthiness in his sight, and of that account which he expected to render at his bar. The hostility of envy, malice, and ingratitude, he was often called to encounter. The enemies of truth, in Old England and New, were his enemies. Their machinations and reproaches he bore with great composure of mind, undiverted from the service of his Lord, unmoved from the path of duty. When a certain writer had cast upon him many severe personal reflections, he observed, "God forbid I should shut my eyes against any light brought to me by him." One of the highest human attainments is to profit by the abuses of enemies. Neither could the flattering marks of distinction laid upon him in different periods of life, change his sense of his own unworthiness, or divert him from the self-denying service of the gospel of Christ. Mr. Cotton was eminent for liberality. Though he could pay very little attention to property, divine Providence so ordered his circumstances, that he always enjoyed a comfortable supply. Many persecuted ministers in England were relieved by his bounty. The poor ever found him their friend.—In the needy circumstances of the country, he was laborious in seeking the most proper objects of charity, and in engaging the wealthy to supply their wants, In

devising liberal things he generally set the first example. A collection of two hundred pounds sterling was made in Boston for a distressed people at the southward. No man gave more, and but one as much as Mr. Cotton.

In the Christian life, he was eminently exemplary. He paid great attention to the religious education and government of his family. He was careful to avoid any appearance of passion in the correction of a fault. He read a chapter of the Scriptures, in his family, morning and evening, annexing some familiar exposition, before and after which, he made a short prayer. He began the Sabbath on Saturday evening; on the propriety of which, he published an able vindication. This practice commenced in New-England with the first planters, and is still observed. And we believe it to be conformable to the word of God. On Saturday evening Mr. Cotton was more large in his family exposition, after which he catechized his children and servants, and sung a psalm. After this he retired to study and secret devotion. The Sabbath, excepting his family devotion and public service, he spent, principally, in secret retirement. The study of a sermon on the Sabbath, so far as it wearied the mind, he thought desirable to avoid. He rose early, was very careful of his time, moderate in eating, and sparing of sleep.

As a preacher, though he often treated upon the deepest subjects, he was singularly plain and intelligible. His voice was soft and sonorous; his delivery affectionate, animated, and solemn. A part of his preaching was, generally, in a course. In an exposition, he went through the Bible, and nearly through the New Testament the second time. In his preaching, he went through the Acts, Revelation, and several of the Epistles, with the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, and some other portions of the Old Testament. He preached much; generally, two or three times a week, besides the Sabbath. The Thursday Lecture at Boston, observed to this day, was established principally by him.

He was eminently a man of prayer. This preceded and closed all his undertakings. He often kept days of private humiliation and thanksgiving. That serenity and gravity which are produced by a life of prayer, he always bore in his countenance. He is removed to that blessed state, where his prayers and praises will be unalloyed and eternal.

SECTION VI.

LIFE OF MR. WILSON, FIRST MINISTER IN BOSTON....LIFE OF
MR. SHEPARD, MINISTER IN CAMBRIDGE.

MR. JOHN WILSON the first Pastor of the church in Boston, was born at Windsor, on the Thames, in the year 1538. He was a son the Rev. William Wilson, a prebendary of the church at Rochester. His parents, who descended from a very respectable ancestry, and sustained an exemplary Christian character, were very attentive to the education of this son. They took pains to impress his mind with an early abhorrence of all vice, especially, falsehood. After receiving the rudiments of his education under their immediate inspection, he spent four years in the celebrated Eaton School. At that school he delivered a latin oration in the presence of the French Ambassador, the Duke of Biron, from whom he received a particular commendation and reward. In his fifteenth year, he was removed to the University, and became a member of King's College, Cambridge. After completing the regular course of studies, he was elected a Fellow of the College. During his continuance in the fellowship, he became acquainted, in a very providential manner, with the writings and preaching of several pious Puritan divines, whose instructions were the means of engaging his mind to a very serious attention to divine things. By the habits of his education, he had imbibed a great antipathy to all who were denomi-

nated *Puritans*. But in the distresses of his soul, he found himself irresistibly inclined to seek for instruction to those who had been the subjects of his aversion. He soon found his moral state to be that of a lost sinner, and that he was dependent on sovereign mercy for an escape from everlasting death. While he continued to improve every opportunity of attending the ministrations of evangelical preachers ; by the advice of the excellent Dr. Ames, he connected himself with a number of serious persons in the University, who held private meetings for prayer, fasting, and religious conference. By the blessing of God upon these means, he was brought to an acquaintance with his own heart, to a knowledge of divine truth, and, apparently, to a perpetual union with the divine Saviour.

Being thus brought to an estimation of the truths of religion as of the first importance, Mr. Wilson proceeded to a very careful consideration of the great subjects of controversy between the advocates of the religious establishment and the Non-conformists. This was about the time that Mr. Robinson and his people removed to Holland when the debates between the contending parties were, perhaps, at their height. After a laborious, prayerful, and conscientious attention to this subject, Mr. Wilson concluded it to be his duty, though with the prospect of the greatest temporal sacrifices, to refuse to comply with many of the prescribed ceremonies of the established church. A great part of the regulations of the University were appointed by ecclesiastical authority, and were considered by the Non-conformists as unscriptural and improper impositions. By a non-compliance with these regulations, Mr. Wilson soon brought upon him the notice and censures of authority. His father and others used great exertions to persuade him to conform ; but believing himself called in the holy providence of God to raise his testimony against those unscriptural impositions, he steadily refused. He was therefore obliged to leave the University.

His father finding that he had embraced the sentiments of the Puritans contrary to his former intentions, wished him not to engage in the work of the ministry ; but now desired him to enter one of the Inns of court, to pursue the study of the law. Wishing to manifest a filial obedience in every thing which was not forbidden by a paramount duty to God, though his heart was wholly set upon the glorious ministry of reconciliation, he complied and engaged in the study. But that God to whom he had dedicated his life did not forsake him. In the Inns of court, he fell into an acquaintance with several young gentlemen who were seriously inclined, with whom he attended on the preaching of evangelical ministers, and was enabled to maintain a life of religion. After three years spent in the study of the law, he was admitted to the higher honours of the University ; after which, by the consent of his father he was soon authorized to be a preacher of the gospel. This work he pursued, with laborious study, with an ardent zeal for Christ, and for the salvation of souls. Previous to his commencing a preacher of the gospel, he made a private resolution, " That if the Lord would grant him a liberty of conscience, with purity of worship, he would be content, yea thankful, though it were at the furthest end of the world." He had not been long a preacher, before he was solemnly ordained as a minister of Christ. Still he had no particular charge. He had frequent and pressing invitations to settle in particular places, but the precarious situation of all ministers who were accused of non-conformity, induced him to decline several advantageous offers. At length, however, on receiving an earnest invitation from the people of Sudbury, he accepted of their call and was installed their Pastor. During the short period of his labours in this place, his ministry was attended with an eminent blessing of God. Many that were openly vicious and erroneous, were brought to the love and obedience of truth. He pursued his work with diligence and constancy, as if knowing that it must be short, that he might do something for God.

In this quiet retreat, Mr. Wilson could not be permitted to rest. The sticklers for conformity, learning his steady perseverance in omitting the prescribed ceremonies, fearing the effect of his weight of character, called him before the ecclesiastical courts, where he was censured, and suspended from the ministerial office. By the interposition of friends of high station and influence, the suspension was, at length removed. But as he still pursued his former course, he was constantly liable to be apprehended, and subjected to fines, forfeitures, and perpetual imprisonment. The only alternatives now presented him were, a violation of what he deemed the plainest dictates of duty, a submission to unrelenting persecution, or a voluntary exile from his native country. He chose the latter. The plan of a colony for the establishment of the pure religion of the gospel being now projected, Mr. Wilson cordially engaged in the important design. With the large company that established the Massachusetts colony, he united his labours and hopes, and came to America in the year 1630. The first church gathered by the company was the one at Charlestown, of which Mr. Wilson was the minister. The congregation included the two settlements at Charlestown and Boston. The year following, a separate church was organized at Boston, of which Mr. Wilson became the Pastor.

In the spring of 1631, Mr. Wilson sailed to England, and after an absence of a year, returned to New-England with his family. His affectionate people at Sudbury were very desirous to have him still conclude to spend his days with them. His near connections used every exertion to dissuade him from a return to the American wilderness. But his heart was too much set on the great work of rearing colonies and churches for the honour of the Redeemer, to be diverted from his design. On his return he was attended by a number of pious and worthy planters. A few years after, he again visited his native country, to receive a valuable legacy which had been left him by a deceased brother. On the voyage, the ship became very leaky, and there was every prospect that all must be lost.

A day of fasting and prayer was kept on board, on account of the danger, and, in the time of the exercise, the leak was discovered and closed. On his return to New-England Mr. Wilson, as in the former instance, was accompanied with a large number of settlers, many of whom were persons of character and distinction.

The Antinomian errors which were introduced by Mrs. Hutchinson and others, which greatly affected the church in Boston, gave Mr. Wilson the deepest concern. Temperate and firm, he bore a uniform testimony for the truth of the gospel, and with every indication of tenderness and love, he used unwearied efforts to reclaim the erroneous, and to confirm others in the truth. Those errors, by the particular circumstances with which they were inculcated, were, for a season, highly popular, and many worthy men were drawn into the snare. Mr. Wilson had long been used to leave all consequences with divine Providence, when called to witness for truth, and now pursuing the plain and direct course, he was a most eminent instrument of preserving the churches from convulsion and ruin. He was one of the most active and influential members of the venerable Synod of 1637, which suppressed those dangerous errors.

In the war of the Pequod Indians, in 1637, a chaplain for the Massachusetts troops being designated by lot, Mr. Wilson was called to the service. Being eminently, a man of prayer, the soldiers viewed him as a host in the day of battle. During the greater part of his ministry at Boston he was favoured with a colleague who was teacher of the church. This place was held twenty years by Mr. Cotton, and ten years by Mr. Norton. As pastor of the church, Mr. Wilson was peculiarly laborious, in frequent preaching, in exhortation, visiting, and domestic instruction; keeping a constant and affectionate attention to the spiritual interests of his people. He also spent much time in the neighbouring towns generally attending their weekly lectures. The whole colony enjoyed the benefit of his pious zeal, his eminent acquaintance with

divine truth, his patient example, and his unremitted prayers. In these labours of faith and love, he continued to a late period of life. Having survived the greater part of his cotemporaries, and the most of the first settlers of the country, he died in 1667, in the seventy-ninth year of his age.

The life of this venerable man, was eminently devoted to the service of his Lord. After devoting himself to the duties of religion and the work of the ministry, he ever appeared to feel that he was not his own. He had engaged for Christ, and wherever he directed his way, it was always his desire to pursue the course, undeterred by any obstacles which might resist, or any burden which he might be called to bear. No one of the New-England fathers was more sincerely engaged for the interests of true religion in the towns and churches of the colonies, than Mr. Wilson. To the promotion of this great object, his eminent talents, his extensive learning, his unwearied exertions, were always devoted. His mind was as steady in adversity as in prosperity, strengthened by the conscious integrity of his own intentions, with a uniform reliance on the perfect wisdom of all the appointments of God, he rejoiced to labour or to suffer for him. He was favoured with a valuable property, and used it as a faithful steward of God. Having devoted his life to rear an infant colony and church for the honour of his Redeemer, his property, when needed for the same object could not be withheld. In the distresses of the first winter, when the colony had to contend with the horrors of famine, while he laboured to comfort the desponding with a recollection of the sufferings and deliverances of the people of God, in every period of the church, his house was open to the needy, administering relief, to the last portion it contained, and the last which could be procured. On every call for the exercise of liberality, whether for the common welfare or the relief of the destitute, he was a most faithful example to his flock, by devising liberal things. He possessed an uncommon degree of the benevolence of the gospel. His love to God and his fellow-men

glowed with an inextinguishable ardour. The former was evinced by a life of sufferings and labour, while his ardent love to men appeared in a fervent zeal for their immortal interests, in unwearied exertions to alleviate the evils and increase the blessings of human society. He exhibited an example of ever active benevolence, of an abhorrence of error and vice, of a composure of mind, and, in all the changes of life, a disposition uniformly cheerful. Not the poor only, but all characters received him as their friend. This man of God exhibited some of the highest exercises of faith. In times of concern, he always made the Lord his helper, he sought his assistance with a humble persevering importunity, and he often gained the most remarkable confidence in the divine interposition. Several instances are mentioned of him, in which, after a most humble and earnest wrestling in prayer to God, he obtained an assurance that the object of his desire would be granted, which never failed till his hope was joyfully realized. This venerable saint lived eminently near to God. His life was a life of prayer. His whole demeanor manifested a uniform and solemn sense of the divine presence. His beloved Saviour was always his companion, his support and his fear. His life exhibited a strong example of humility, self-denial, and those high attainments in virtue, which adorn some of the children of Emmanuel. He ever felt himself journeying to the heavenly state, and the impression regulated the whole tenor of his life. His death was such as might be expected from such a life. In his last sickness, he took a most affectionate farewell of his numerous Christian friends, assuring them that the faithful servants of Christ need not fear that he would forsake them in the last trying conflict. He refused to hear any commendation of himself, declaring that he had ever been an unprofitable servant: adding, "But I must say, the Lord be merciful to me a sinner, let thy tender mercies come unto me, O Lord, even thy salvation according to thy word." He pronounced his tenderest blessing upon his near friends, particularly upon his children, which in the

faithful providence of God, was singularly fulfilled. He then made a most affectionate prayer for them, and slept in peace. Mr. Mather of Dorchester, the ancestor of the venerable family of that name, preached at his funeral, from the passage in the prophet, *Your fathers, where are they? and the prophets do they live for ever?* The venerable Dr. Ames, so eminent for his learning and piety, observed, "If he could have his option of the best condition that he could propose to himself, on this side heaven, it would be that he might be the teacher of a congregational church of which Mr. Wilson should be the pastor."

REV. MR. SHEPARD.

MR. THOMAS SHEPARD is distinguished among the New-England fathers, by an uncommon ardour of piety; by a great zeal for God and his holy truth; by a great success in the work of the ministry, and by his valuable writings, which have been an eminent security to our churches, and a great defence to the cause of truth. He was born near Northampton, Nov. 5th, 1605. A day rendered memorable in the annals of the British nation by the discovery of the well known Powder-plot. He was the youngest son of his father, by whose death, he was left an orphan in early life. His eldest brother took the care of his education, and performed for him the duties of a father. At the age of fifteen, he was admitted a member of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. While he advanced in the paths of science with an uncommon rapidity for his years, he experienced the frequent and powerful strivings of the divine Spirit upon his conscience. The preaching of some pious ministers at the University produced in his mind powerful convictions of his sin and danger. Earnestly engaged in the pursuit of his studies, these convictions declined, and nearly subsided. The faithful discourse of a pious fellow-student again roused him to a sense of his sins, that, on an examination of divine truth, he found himself in a lost, perishing state. He frequented religious company,

from which he derived much salutary instruction. At length, the preaching of Dr. Preston which was very solemn and pungent, who went to reside at the college during Mr. Shepard's pupilage, was made effectual in the hands of the Holy Spirit, as he believed, of bringing his soul to the mercy-seat of the divine Saviour. In a subsequent period of life, he writes concerning the divine mercies which he had experienced, "The Lord is the God that sent Dr. Preston and Mr. Goodwin to call me. The words of the first, in the first sermon I heard from him, and divers others near that time, did open my heart, and convince me of my unbelief, and my total emptiness of all, and enmity against all good.—God, by him showed me the worth of Christ, and made my soul satisfied with him, and cleave to him, because God had made him righteousness, and hence also revealed his free justification, and gave me support and rest in his promises." About the time of the important change in the exercises of his mind, when he was about nineteen years of age, he resolved to devote a certain season, on the evening of every day, to a careful meditation on divine things. His object was to learn divine truth, to get an acquaintance with his own heart, and to seek the saving mercy of Christ. In these seasons of meditation, he received his first special comforts in God.

After receiving the degree of Master of Arts, he left the University and began to preach the gospel. Though quite young, his preaching possessed a gravity of manner, and an energy of expression, which procured much attention and high respect. At the same time, he exhibited such an ardent zeal for Christ, and for the salvation of immortal souls, in his preaching and all his conduct, as caused his labours to be attended with great success. The great desire of his heart was that his fellow-sinners might enjoy the excellency of divine grace.

A certain charitable gentleman in Essex, proposing to establish a weekly lecture, committed the management of it to a number of pious ministers, who offered the service to

Mr. Shepard. As they were attending one of their stated monthly fasts, while engaged in prayer for divine direction respecting the disposition of their lecture, an earnest application from a destitute people, soon brought them to a decision. The lecture was fixed at Cohn, for three years, where Mr. Shepard was employed to the great approbation and benefit of the people. He was very laborious in that and the neighbouring towns, and was made eminently instrumental in impressing the reality and excellency of divine truth. Many were so attached to him, viewing him as the instrument of their saving conversion, that, for the benefit of his ministry, they attended him to the wilderness of America. Though the lecture was removed, after three years, he continued, at the earnest desire of the people to reside and labour at Cohn. At his request, the lecture was afterwards established in his native town, and given to his intimate friend, Mr. Stone.

Though employed in an obscure part of his Lord's vineyard, devoted, exclusively, to his service, the fidelity and success of his ministry were too great to be unnoticed by the iron rage of persecution. He was silenced by Bishop Laud, for no other fault than his non-conformity. He was no schismatic or partizan; yet he was a Puritan, and his influence must be suppressed. For fear of further sufferings, he was obliged to live some time in concealment. The vigilant zeal of the pursuivants made it necessary that his retreat should often be changed, or he must have fallen into their hands.

Having an invitation to preach in Yorkshire, he travelled to that distant country, hoping to be permitted to minister for his Lord without molestation. After labouring for a season, with the most encouraging prospects, he again felt the arm of ecclesiastical power, and though he made another removal, to the county of Northumberland, he was prohibited from any further exercise of his ministry. He must now renounce the service of the ministry of reconciliation, or seek a field of labour in some country not his own. He could not hesitate which course to pursue.

The removal of Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker, and others, to New-England, for whose example he had the highest respect, and to whom he was attached by the strongest ties of Christian friendship, fixed his determination to engage in the same arduous service. Mr. Shepard, and Mr. Norton, who was afterwards the successor of Mr. Cotton at Boston, went to Yarmouth to embark for New-England, near the end of the year 1634. Being soon overtaken with a violent storm, in which the prayer and faith of the passengers was considered the means of their preservation when their loss appeared inevitable, they were compelled to return and wait till the next season. They were kept in the most careful concealment during their stay, to avoid the vigilance of their pursuers. Mr. Shepard lost his eldest son at Yarmouth, but he could not appear at the funeral. In October, 1635, Mr. Shepard, with several worthy ministers, and three or four hundred passengers, arrived at Boston.

Mr. Hooker and his people were generally removing from Cambridge to Hartford. This made a convenient opening, where considerable improvements had been made, which were very gladly purchased and occupied by Mr. Shepard and his friends. In the February following, on a day of public fasting and prayer, in presence of a great concourse of people, they organized a church at Cambridge, and Mr. Shepard was set apart to the pastoral charge. He now rejoiced in an opportunity to be engaged, without interruption, in the great and good work which commanded all the affections of his heart. Though indefatigable in his labours, he pursued no other object than the inculcation of the doctrines of the gospel, the vindication of its truths, and the salvation of sinners. He well understood the error of the Antinomian sentiments, which prevailed considerably in the colony, soon after his arrival, and was most active and successful in counteracting their baneful effects.

The colony having determined on founding a College, the faithful and judicious ministry of Mr. Shepard, was the principal inducement to establish it at Cambridge. He

was considered a most useful model for imitation in the sacred calling, as well as eminently successful in detecting false religion, and leading enquirers in the way of truth.

In his own, and in the neighbouring towns, Mr. Shepard was very laborious, and the zeal and solemnity of his preaching, always procured him attention. He preached much, attended many lectures, and omitted no favourable opportunity to testify for Christ. His ministry was attended with great success. This we should expect. Though God be a holy sovereign, and send the blessings of his grace in such a way as he sees fit, yet, seldom or never, do we find faithful, humble, persevering labours, unattended with his blessing. The same Holy Spirit which accompanied the ministry of Mr. Shepard in his native country, wherever he was called to labour, did not forsake him in the deserts of America. As he was successful in awakening the thoughtless and reclaiming the vicious, he was eminently useful in leading enquirers in the way of truth, in resolving the doubts and soothing the concerns of the desponding Christian.

This shining light was extinguished in its meridian splendour. Returning from an ecclesiastical council at Rowley, he was suddenly taken with a quinsy, which, in a few days, terminated his life, Aug. 1649, in the 44th year of his age. A little before his departure, he observed to his friends around him, "Oh love the Lord Jesus, the little part that I have in him is my great comfort, and all my hope." He left three sons, who became eminent ministers in the colony.

The writings of Mr. Shepard were of great benefit to the cause of truth, after the testimony of his voice had ceased to be heard. His most elaborate work was a treatise on the Sabbath. The morality of the Lord's day began to be called in question in England, by many of the Antinomians and some others. In this treatise, he vindicated the perpetual obligation of the fourth commandment, the morality and holiness of the Christian Sabbath, in a most lucid and unanswerable manner. In another work, which

he published, he maintained, with much ability, the propriety of separating from the ecclesiastical establishment of England, and vindicated the order of the New-England churches as most conformable to the primitive pattern. In a practical work, entitled "The Sound Believer," designed to distinguish true religion from false, which has been much read, he observes in the preface, "I considered my weak body, and my short time of sojourning here, and that I shall not speak long to children, friends, or God's precious people. I have been, therefore, willing to leave some part of God's precious truth on record, that it might speak, (Oh that it might be to the heart,) when I shall not be." His largest and perhaps most useful publication, was an elaborate performance, to illustrate and apply the parable of the ten virgins. A principal object in this work is to point out the corruptions and dangers of churches. It consisted of a series of sermons delivered at his weekly lecture, from 1636, to 1640. It was published in a folio volume, with high commendations, after his death. This work is much improved in that great light and guide of the American Church, President Edwards' 'Treatise on Religious Affections.

A few extracts from Mr. Shepard's private writings will not be unacceptable. "April 10. I had many thoughts, which came in to press me to give up myself to Christ Jesus. So I gave myself to him. First, I acknowledged all I was, or had, was his own. Secondly, I resigned not only my own goods and estate, but my child, my wife, my church, and myself to the Lord; out of love, as being the best and dearest things which I have. July 10, 1641. On the evening of this day, before the sacrament, I saw it my duty to sequester myself from all other things, for the Lord, the next day. And now I saw my blessedness did not lie in receiving of good and comfort from God, but in holding forth the glory of God, and his virtues. For it is, I saw, an amazing, glorious object, to see God in the creature; God speak, God act, the Deity not being the creature, but filling it, shining through it, to be covered with God

as with a cloud. August 15. I saw, on the Sabbath, four evils which attended me in my ministry. First, discouragement and shame from a sense of the meanness of what I have provided in private meditations. Secondly, carelessness possesses me. Thirdly, infirmities and weakness, as want of light, want of life, want of a spirit of power to deliver what I am affected with, for Christ. Fourthly, want of success. I saw these, and that I was to be humbled for them. December 1. A small thing troubled me. I had a spirit soon touched and provoked. I saw that the Lord let sin and Satan prevail there, that I might see my sin and be more humbled by it, and so get strength against it. November 3. On a Fast-day at night, in preparation for the duty, I saw sin as my greatest evil. I was vile, He only was good whom my sin did cross. On the end of the Fast I went unto God, I rested upon him as sufficient ; I waited on him as efficient ; and said, Now, Lord, do for thy churches and help in mercy. April 4. Preparing for a Fast. May not I be the cause of the church's sorrows, which are renewed upon us ? *These sheep, what have they done ?* 1. My heart has been long lying out from the Lord. He sent a terrible storm at sea, to awaken me. Then, immediately took away my child, my first-born. Then the Lord took my dear wife from me. He then threatened blindness to my child. And this made God's will *afflicting*, sweet to me, but much more *commanding* and *promising*. But Oh, how is my *gold become dim*. 2. The people committed to me. They are not pitied so much, nor prayed for, nor visited, as they ought to be. 3. The family ; I have not edified nor instructed, nor taken all occasions of speech with them. 4. The gospel I have preached, has not been seen in its glory, not believed, not affecting. 5. Not seeking to Christ for supply. My not lamenting the falls of professors, and the condition of the country.—I have now had a long sickness, as if the Lord would delight no more in me to use me. O my God, who shall be like to thee in pardoning and subduing mine iniquities ?”

SECTION VII.

LIFE OF MR. HOOKER, THE EMINENT MINISTER OF
HARTFORD.

IN the early period of our history, Mr. Hooker was universally considered the great pillar of the Connecticut colony. As he ranked among the first scholars of the age he possessed more learning than any man in the colony ; more perhaps, than any in New-England. The soundness of his judgment, and his attachment to the cause of truth were not less than his learning : and all these were directed, with an upright zeal and unwearied exertions, to the noble design of rearing a Christian Commonwealth. No legislator or divine ever laboured for a worthier object, and the efforts of no one were ever crowned with a more animating success.

Mr. Thomas Hooker was born at Marfield in Leicestershire, in the year 1586. His parents were persons of taste and property, and having designed this son for a liberal education, they were much encouraged to pursue the object of their wishes by the early indications of uncommon genius which appeared in his childhood. He was educated at the University of Cambridge, which, by the serious part of the nation, was at that time much preferred to the University of Oxford. After completing the period of his pupilage, he was elected a Fellow of Emmanuel College.* In his fellowship, he was much esteemed for his rapid advancement in science, and for the erudition displayed in his public performances.

This period of his life was, however, attended with events infinitely more important. - During his ardent pursuit of the acquisition of science, it pleased the holy Spirit of God to impress his mind with the deepest concern for his immortal

* He was probably educated at that College, though I do not find that fact particularly mentioned.

interests. His convictions of sin were long and very powerful ; his apprehensions of divine wrath filled his soul with a distress not to be expressed. In the anguish of his heart, he often cried out, *while I suffer thy terrors, O Lord, I am distracted.* During this interesting scene, he received great help from a pious man who provided for him his board, to whom he communicated all his distresses. But it pleased the divine Spirit, at length, to appear for his relief, to remove his painful burden, and give him a humble hope in a Saviour's mercy. Possessed of a strong spirit, with an ardent thirst for worldly eminence, and literary fame, great was the struggle before his heart would submit unconditionally to God. In view of this scene he afterwards observed, " That in the time of his agonies, he could reason himself to the rule, and conclude that there was no way but submission to God, and lying at the foot of his mercy in Christ Jesus, and waiting humbly there, till He should please to persuade the soul of his favour. Nevertheless, when he came to apply this rule to himself, in his own condition, his reasoning would fail him, he was able to do nothing." Having obtained some relief from his burden, he was very attentive to the duties of religion and to a careful examination of himself by which means, he made a happy progress in the divine life, and found his hope continually strengthened in the Lord. The thorough acquaintance he now obtained of himself, with a careful observation of the dealings of God's Spirit, laid the foundation for that extraordinary skill in teaching distressed souls, which he afterwards possessed, beyond almost any other man.

Mr. Hooker now resolved to devote himself to the work of the gospel ministry, and directed his studies to a preparation for the sacred employment. He continued a number of years at the University, after passing the ordinary degrees, both before and after he became a preacher, deeply engaged in his favourite pursuit of science. During his residence at the University, he preached considerably, and, by the extensive learning and thorough knowledge of

divinity contained in his sermons, acquired much reputation. At what time he left the seat of learning, I have not been able exactly to discover. It appears likely that he was then near thirty-five years of age, having been a preacher for four or five years.

Leaving Cambridge, he resided some time in the vicinity of London, where his public ministrations soon excited much attention, and procured for him an uncommon degree of popularity. His public discourses possessed a great share of acuteness of thought, of extensive reading, with the deepest sense of the worth of the Mediator's kingdom and immortal souls, and were delivered with an animation which made an impression upon every hearer. In private, he was much resorted to, to resolve cases of conscience, to relieve the distress of desponding Christians, to counsel and instruct enquiring sinners. While employed in this unsettled state, his labours were signally attended with the divine blessing, to the joy of many immortal souls.

About the year 1624, Mr. Hooker accepted of a call from the congregation at Chelmsford, the shire town of Essex, and was settled in that place with very favourable prospects. The town being large, and the vicinity populous, the fame of his ministry soon produced a very great congregation. While he was indefatigable in his labours, wholly devoted to the service of his Lord and the best interests of his fellow-men, he was not forgotten of the Spirit of God. His ministry was attended with a distinguished blessing, to a sensible reformation of the manners of the town, to the suppression of many immoral and dangerous practices, to the saving instruction of many heirs of salvation. But it pleased a holy God that this faithful servant of his truth should live in the time of the Laudean persecution, while he was just such a character as the sticklers for conformity could not endure.

In common with many persons of great learning and piety, who were among the first ornaments of the church, Mr. Hooker believed many of the rites of the religious establishment to be wholly unscriptural, an improper bur-

den upon the divine institutions of the gospel, calculated to despoil religion of its divine purity, and corrupt the minds of his people *from the simplicity that is in Christ*. Though he was no schismatic, though he made no attempt to create divisions or excite party distinctions, only neglecting to comply with the artificial ordinances of prelatic authority ; by the jealous eye of persecution, he could not be overlooked. His extensive learning, his persevering industry, his humble, self-denying life, his ardent zeal for Christ, gave him an influence which ill comported with that systematic purpose of ecclesiastical tyranny, which determined to enforce all the claims and appointments of the hierarchy. He was, therefore, under the necessity of relinquishing his favourite employment, of ministering publicly for Christ ; and, retiring at a little distance from Chelmsford, he set up a school, to which great numbers of youths, soon resorted, to enjoy the benefit of his instructions. One of his pupils was Mr. John Elliot, afterwards, the famous minister of Roxbury in New-England. In reference to this period of his life, Mr. Elliot afterwards observed, " To this place I was called, through the infinite riches of God's mercy in Christ Jesus to my poor soul. For here the Lord said unto my dead soul, *live* ; and, through the grace of Christ, I do live, and shall live for ever. When I came to this blessed family, I then saw, and never before, the power of godliness, in its lively vigour and efficacy." While Mr. Hooker was engaged in the employment of an instructor, a petition was presented to the Bishop of London, (Bishop Laud,) by a number of conforming ministers of the neighbouring towns, no less than forty-seven, praying that Mr. Hooker might be permitted to continue in the ministry at Chelmsford. They state in their petition, " That they esteem and know the said Mr. Thomas Hooker to be, for doctrine, orthodox ; for life and conversation, honest ; for disposition, peaceable ; and in no wise turbulent or factious." But he was a Puritan, and his ministry could not be suffered. The popularity and influence of his school were such as to fur-

nish an additional motive to attempt to extinguish this brilliant light. Before he had been two years in his retreat, he was summoned before an ecclesiastical court at Chelmsford, about the year 1630, and, for non-conformity in his ministry, he was silenced, and laid under bonds in the penal sum of fifty pounds, to appear as a public offender before the Court of High-Commission. By the advice and earnest solicitation of his friends, who cheerfully advanced the sum, he forfeited the bonds. But he could no longer appear in public with safety. A secure retreat having been provided for his family, by the generous liberality of the Earl of Warwick, he sought a private passage, and immediately went over to Holland. As it was known that he was sought for by the pursuivants, a friend observed to him, "Sir, what if the wind should not be fair, when you come to the vessel?" He replied, "Brother, let us leave that with Him who keeps the wind in the hollow of his hand." Several circumstances, singularly favourable, attended his voyage.

Mr. Hooker resided in Holland about three years. The two former, he lived at Delft, as a colleague with an aged Scotch minister, whose congregation consisted, principally, of English merchants. He was there very useful, and greatly esteemed. At the expiration of two years, he was called to Rotterdam, where he was united in the ministry with his great and affectionate friend, Dr. Ames, who had just returned from his professorship at the Franequer University. In this connection, he assisted Dr. Ames in composing some of his best literary works. Dr. Ames observed of him, "Though he had been acquainted with many scholars of divers nations, yet he never met with Mr. Hooker's equal, either for preaching or disputing."

On a full acquaintance with the state of the churches in Holland, Mr. Hooker became satisfied that that purity of doctrine and discipline in the visible church of Christ, which he and his fellow labourers had long hoped to see, was not reasonably to be expected in that country. Of this persuasion, Mr. Hooker informed Mr. Cotton in their

correspondence, upon which, finding no prospect of a relaxation of ecclesiastical rigor in their own country, they resolved to unite with a number of their friends in Essex, who were preparing for an emigration to America. Mr. Hooker returned to England, *but secretly for fear of his enemies*, from whence he soon took his last farewell of his native land. He and Mr. Cotton were both concealed previous to their departure, to avoid the vigilance of pursuers. They were obliged to enter on board their ship in disguise, and were not known to the crew till they had been some days at sea. They then assumed their proper character, and performed the public services of religion, daily, and on the Sabbath, during the voyage. On the fourth of September, 1633, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Cotton, Mr. Stone, Mr. Haynes, with a great number of other passengers, arrived safely at Boston, to the great joy of the colony. A number of Mr. Hooker's friends came over the year before, and settled at Newtown, under the expectation of his coming, and to prepare for his accommodation. Great was the joy of the meeting occasioned by his arrival. Having wandered without a home, *in journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils by his own countrymen, in perils in the sea, in perils among false brethren*, reviled, waylaid, and pursued, as a public criminal, now to meet his friends in a land of peace, with all the privileges of the pure ordinances of Christ, afforded a precious foretaste of the rest which remaineth for the people of God. While his people received him with open arms, Mr. Hooker assured them, "Now I live, if you stand fast in the Lord." In October, a church was organized at Newtown with great solemnity, and Mr. Hooker was set apart as their pastor, and Mr. Stone as his assistant.

Mr. Hooker's migration to America soon induced many of his acquaintance to follow him to the wilderness. The settlement at Newtown became so much increased that it was thought expedient to remove to Connecticut River. The people made application to the General Court for liberty to remove, in the latter part of the year 1634. Mr.

Hooker was their agent. Their request was denied, under a persuasion that their removal would weaken the colony; and that the loss of such an eminent light of the churches as their Pastor, would be a severe judgment of heaven. The year following, however, the colony continuing to receive fresh accessions of planters from England, the petition of the Newtown people was granted, and late in the season, the removal commenced. In June, 1636, Mr. Hooker, with his family and about one hundred others, took their journey through the wilderness, and after a fatiguing march of about twelve days, they arrived at Hartford. The most of the congregation, some by water and some by land, arrived before the close of the year. The church was not re-organized.

The labours of Mr. Hooker, in the necessary provision for his own family, in the care of his church and people, in laying the foundations of the permanent religious institutions of the colony, in providing for the peace and security of this feeble people in an unlimited wilderness of savages, in securing the lasting prosperity of a rising state, were greater than can now be conceived. Though he stood not alone, yet upon him more than any other person devolved this mighty care. By his vigilance and labours, the churches in this colony continued in great unity and quietness, while those in the Massachusetts were agitated for a season with alarming convulsions. He was called to attend the Synod which sat at Cambridge in August, 1637, which had such a happy effect in suppressing the Antinomian errors and restoring peace to the churches. Mr. Hooker was the moderator of the Synod, with Mr. Bulkley of Concord for his assistant. His perfect acquaintance with all the subjects of discussion, his irresistible powers of reasoning, his meek and honest zeal for truth, gave him a commanding influence in the decisions of that Council, which became the foundation of the doctrinal constitution of our churches.

As the church in Hartford was the largest in the colony, their proceedings were generally considered a model for the

others. It was also well understood that the ecclesiastical transactions of that period would be regarded as precedents, and have an important influence in succeeding times. These considerations lay with all their weight upon the mind of Mr. Hooker, to whom the other churches, as well as his own, looked for their constant guide, and called forth all the resources of his mind, and all the fervour of his intercessions for direction from on high. It is impossible for us to conceive the anxiety and solicitude which such a state of things must occasion. They were striking out a new path, no land marks were before them, no established usages to direct their steps, no common habits for a basis of their regulations, the history of the church since the primitive times furnishing no sample for their guide. But that God, who led our fathers into the wilderness, provided one who possessed the confidence of all. As the confidence of all hearts in WASHINGTON, was the only common bond of union possessed by the United States, previous to the establishment of the present government, the confidence of the people in the Connecticut Colony, reposed in Mr. Hooker, was, for their ecclesiastical interests at least, their great bond of union, and the sure pledge of their tranquillity. No event which could affect the interests of the churches escaped his attention; he deemed no efforts too great for their welfare, and his exertions were eminently attended with the divine blessing. His church were distinguished for purity of gospel sentiment, for great faithfulness in the duties of religion, for examples of watchfulness and prayer, and for great attainments in the divine life. His people enjoyed great harmony, and uncommon purity of morals, and in repeated instances, the signal manifestations of divine grace.

But God would teach the infant colony that their dependence must be on himself alone. In their weak and fearful state, they must mourn the extinction of their most brilliant light. He who has always exercised the right of removing from the world the great pillars of the church in the midst of their days, would now call this lonely people

to adore his holy, unsearchable wisdom. After preaching and administering the sacrament of the Lord's supper, with great fervour and solemnity, with his usual vigour of mind and health, Mr. Hooker was seized with an epidemical sickness then prevalent in the town, which soon assumed symptoms that were alarming. His sickness was short and violent, and deprived him to a considerable degree of the ability for conversation. Being asked to give his counsel and express his apprehension concerning some important things, he observed, "I have not that work now to do; I have already declared the counsel of the Lord." A weeping friend said to him, "Sir, you are going to receive the reward of all your labours." He replied, "Brother, I am going to receive mercy." The peace which he had enjoyed in the Christian hope, with little interruption, for thirty years, now rose to a full assurance of faith. He closed his own eyes, and, with an inexpressible serenity on his countenance, slept for the resurrection morning. He died July 7th, 1647, in the sixty-first year of his age. A venerable spectator of this scene wrote to Mr. Cotton, "Truly, Sir, the sight of his death, will make me have more pleasant thoughts of dying, than ever I yet had in my life." His people were orphans, the colony was in tears, all the colonies were in deep affliction.

The history of the church furnishes few men who have brought equal ability and equal zeal, to promote the interests of Zion, with Mr. Hooker. To this object, he was wholly devoted. He not only felt, occasionally, like most Christians, that he was willing to spend and be spent for the church of God, but this was the uniform feeling and the uniform conduct of his life. He appears to have had no ambition of being a party-man, or of getting an artificial distinction by opposition, when he relinquished the fairest prospects of ecclesiastical preferment and risked every comfort, to vindicate the pure principles of the gospel of Christ. He went to Holland with the hope of seeing Christian churches established in uncorrupted gospel order. Disappointed in his hopes he bid a final adieu to

his native country, well apprized of the toils of the American wilderness, for the same object. No discouragement or success relaxed his zeal, no obstacle disheartened his exertions to the end of his days. His wisdom and counsel were much improved in the civil interests of the colony, but he ever acted the civilian, only as subordinate to the interests of the church. He and his coadjutors were indeed laying a foundation of a Christian Commonwealth, for the honour of Christ. In this view, no part of their system could fail to engage his deepest concern. But instead of an ambitious solicitude to rear a powerful state, to try the experiments of political philosophy, or to obtain a name among the Numas and Solons of the world, it was his great concern to prepare a habitation for the Lord of Hosts.—To the religious concerns of his people of the colony, and of the united colonies, he devoted his utmost labours. He was a great student, spent much time in his study, in preparing for his public ministrations, and in providing the ablest vindications of the pure doctrines and precepts of the gospel. To the discipline of his church, he was greatly attentive. He was quick to notice any error or immorality, but, by timely and persevering exertions, generally procured them to be corrected, without bringing them into public notice. Though he viewed the censures of the church lawful and important, he thought they ought, as far as possible, to be avoided. During his pastoral connection with his church, for fourteen years, but one member was publicly admonished, and but one was excommunicated. In church meetings, he always endeavoured to prevent debate. When any important question was to be decided, he took pains to have the ruling elders, and others of the principal members, fully possessed of the subject, that they might be prepared to act with unanimity. If material difference of sentiment appeared in the church, he would procure an adjournment of the meeting, that they might confer with each other in a private manner, and thus prevent

the evils of disunion.—Mr. Hooker preached much at home, in the neighbouring places, and in the other colonies. Whenever he was at Boston, which was frequent, great congregations assembled to enjoy his public ministrations, while many resorted to him for Christian counsel, as well with the concerns of the churches, as those of individuals.

Mr. Hooker possessed a great knowledge of the human character. This he acquired, not more from the acuteness of his discernment, than from a thorough acquaintance with himself. He had long made his own heart, in its natural and sanctified state the subject of his most watchful study and persevering attention. The knowledge thus obtained, was one of the first qualifications for his great usefulness. During his whole ministry, he was much resorted to for instruction, by enquiring sinners, by desponding Christians, by various characters who would know more of gospel truth, and more of duty. He had a most happy talent at resolving cases of conscience, and applying divine truth in circumstances of doubt and difficulty.

Wherever he was, he had the happiness to possess a very uncommon degree of influence. This arose from his known ability, and his unshaken integrity. During his residence in Essex, a number of his brethren in the ministry, who had been undecided in many religious sentiments, became, by his means principally, fully established in evangelical doctrines. By his exertions also, a number of pious faithful ministers were settled in that country. He succeeded, further, in persuading his brethren to set up monthly meetings for religious conferences, fasting, and prayer, which were long observed by many ministers of that vicinity, to their peculiar benefit. In Holland, he was equally influential, so far as he was known. In New-England, his influence, in ecclesiastical transactions, was not exceeded, if equalled, by that of any other man. They knew the soundness of his judgment, the extent of his information, the purity of his intentions; quali-

ties which never fail to procure an influence, and they had often realized their worth.

Mr. Hooker's labours, in his Lord's vineyard, were eventually attended with the divine blessing. Few persons have been more useful, while living, with ministers, than he. In his intercourse with his brethren, he was signally successful in leading them to just views of divine truth, and of the interesting importance of the work in which they were engaged. His efforts to enlighten, guide, and reclaim Christian churches, were productive of good which cannot be duly appreciated till we arrive in the eternal state. In his preaching, he instructed and rebuked with an authority which would appal error and confound vice ; he exhorted and warned with an affection which would move every heart. His aspect bore a solemnity and tenderness, worthy of an ambassador for Christ. Though he was thoroughly versed in all the religious controversies of that day, he did not introduce them in his ordinary discourses. Those, as well as deep metaphysical disquisitions, he considered, ordinarily, unprofitable and improper for the pulpit. Though he wrote many sermons, and wrote with great attention on most gospel subjects, he generally preached without notes. This was the usual practice of the Puritans of his time. He spoke with great animation, his ideas were clear, his language was correct, which, together with the pathos infused into all his discourses, which no artificial zeal can imitate, rendered him one of the most popular preachers of the age.

Mr. Hooker was a most eminent example of the Christian life. As it pleased God to give him an unusual share of divine grace, he ever improved his talent with the utmost diligence. The long struggle of his heart during the period of his convictions, convinced him of its exceeding corruptions, and of the necessity of maintaining an unremitted warfare with sin. He was distinguished for a singular watchfulness and circumspection in all his conduct, mindful of the many admonitions of his Lord, which teach us

that we are always in danger of wounding our own souls and dishonouring Him. He obtained an almost perfect command of himself. He possessed, by nature, a very strong spirit, his passions were ardent, and easily excited. He had one, in a high degree, which, of all passions, is perhaps the hardest for a Christian to subdue ; a passion for literary fame. This is so nearly allied to a just desire of usefulness, that there are few good men who can manage it at all. Mr. Hooker rendered this, as well as all his other affections, subservient to the love and service of the lowly Nazarene. In the later periods of his life, he was seldom known to be discomposed ; quietness and benevolence marked his countenance in all his conduct. He bore opposition and reproach ; he bore the obstinacy and follies of men, without murmur or complaint.

He was, to a very eminent degree, a man of prayer. On some occasions, the fervour and apparent confidence which he exhibited, astonished every hearer. Some instances are recorded, in which he obtained remarkable answers to prayer. In the year 1643, there was a war between the Mohegan and the Narraganset Indians. The latter were a very warlike tribe, and many times the most numerous. They designed to destroy the colony, while the Moheagans were friends. On an occasion of prayer in reference to an expected battle, Mr. Hooker was observed to pray with an unusual and persevering importunity, pleading with God for the remembrance of his gracious promise, *I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee.* The expected battle took place, in which the Moheagans gained a great victory, which produced a peace between the tribes, and quieted the fears of the colony.

This servant of Christ was ever mindful of the directions of his Lord for deeds of charity. "It was no rare thing for him to give sometimes five pounds, sometimes ten pounds at a time, towards the support of widows and orphans, especially those of deceased ministers." On a certain occasion, the people at Southampton on Long Isl-

and being in a needy state, Mr. Hooker and a few others freighted a small vessel with several hundred bushels of corn, and sent to their relief.*

Several volumes of Mr. Hooker's sermons were printed before and after his death. But his most valuable work, is entitled, *A Survey of Church Discipline*. In this, he vindicates, with great ability, the order of Christian churches, agreeably to the sentiments generally maintained by President Edwards and Dr. Hopkins, and shows the lawfulness and expediency of the Consociation of churches, for their mutual benefit, and preservation in the truth.

A cotemporary of Mr. Hooker, a man distinguished for learning and piety, and for a great knowledge of men, said of him, after much acquaintance, "He had not thought there had been such a man on earth; a man in whom learning and wisdom were so tempered with zeal, holiness, and watchfulness." He was prepared in the holy providence of God to plant these unhallowed fields, he now rests in the joy of his Lord.

SECTION VIII.

LIFE OF MR. STONE, MINISTER OF HARTFORD....LIFE OF
MR. DAVENPORT, FIRST MINISTER OF NEW-HAVEN.

Few of the fathers of New-England are more worthy of historic remembrance than the excellent Mr. Stone, the revered minister of Hartford. He was born at Hartford,

* Notwithstanding his liberality, he left a good estate at his death. It was appraised at 1,336*l.* 15*s.* This, according to the present ratio of property and money, cannot be estimated less than \$15,000. His library only was appraised at 300*l.* This estate, I presume, was not increased, but diminished, in this country. Mr. Hooker and his wife were bred in affluence and delicacy.

T *

or Hertford, the shire town of Hertfordshire, about the year 1603.* Placed in easy circumstances in life, his childhood and youth were faithfully devoted to the acquisition of a literary education. Having received a liberal education at Emmanuel College in the Cambridge University, he applied himself to the study of divinity, under the instruction of an eminent, pious divine, Mr. Richard Blackerby. Mr. Blackerby was very eminent in his time as a teacher in divinity, and Mr. Stone was one of his most distinguished pupils. This being his favourite study, he pursued it with great ardour and success. After he became a preacher, he preached occasionally, but was still employed, principally, in laborious study. He early contracted an intimate acquaintance with the pious and amiable Mr. Shepard, I conclude, while they were at the University. Mr. Shepard having been employed in a charitable lecture in Essex, on leaving the employment, persuaded the patrons to establish the lecture at Towcester, his native town, and to employ Mr. Stone as the preacher. In this situation he continued for a few years, in circumstances very agreeable to his inclinations. While his labours were not arduous, he enjoyed a favourable opportunity for study and retirement. His easy manners and amiable disposition procured the attachment of his acquaintance, not less than his eminent ministerial qualifications acquired their respect.

From a careful attention to divine truth, and a thorough examination of the subjects of religious controversy then prevailing, Mr. Stone conscientiously adopted the sentiments of the Puritans. He was therefore exposed to the censures of ecclesiastical intolerance, whereby he was liable to the loss of personal liberty and safety, as well as of the privilege of ministering in the name of Christ. It does not however appear that he was actually prosecuted, or especially suffered for non-conformity. Whether it

* I do not find his age mentioned exactly, but this cannot be far from the truth. He was about thirty years old when he came to America.

were in consequence of superiour caution in him, or because the High-Commission had sufficient work on their hands, cannot, at this time, be easily determined.

Mr. Hooker having resolved on a removal to New-England, together with several other distinguished characters, his friends sought for a suitable person to be an assistant with him in the ministerial work. They first applied to Mr. Cotton. But it being thought inexpedient that two such eminent lights should be connected with one church, the proposal was not adopted. Application was then made to Mr. Stone, who was still employed in his lecture at Towcester, to engage in this important service. Mr. Stone was the intimate friend of Mr. Hooker, he cordially approved of the great design which now engaged the efforts of many of the best persons in the kingdom, the establishment of a Christian Commonwealth, and he was constantly liable to be apprehended by ecclesiastical authority. He therefore cordially engaged in this interesting cause, and, in company with Mr. Haynes, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Cotton, and others, came to New-England in 1633. When Mr. Hooker's people were organized in a church state, at Cambridge, soon after his arrival, Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone were solemnly set apart, the former as the pastor, the latter as the teacher of the church.

In the summer of 1636, the ministers, with the most of their congregation, removed to Connecticut. The place of their settlement they called Hartford, in honour of Mr. Stone, as it is said, the name of his native town. In their new settlement, Mr. Stone enjoyed, in a high degree, the attachment and confidence of the people: he was very laborious in the duties of his profession, earnestly engaged to promote the interests of the infant colony. The war with the Pequods, which put the existence of the colony to the extremest hazard, broke out in the year 1637. Mr. Stone was appointed the chaplain to the eventful expedition against Mistic Fort, the principal fortress of the enemy. As that was a war in which "they kneeled before

they fought,"* the assistance of Mr. Stone was of the utmost consequence. When the officers were divided in opinion, in a very important consultation, at their request, he spent the most of a night in fervent prayer before God for the merciful guidance of his holy Spirit. In the morning he informed the commanding officer that he came fully into his opinion, which was soon after unanimously adopted, and was attended with most an extraordinary success. Mr. Stone continued in a faithful and laborious discharge of the duties of his station, in great harmony with his people and his colleague, till the death of that illustrious divine, in 1647. He now remained the only minister of his people, and continued so till his death. By the removal of his colleague, an accumulated weight of care and labour devolved upon him, yet he faithfully performed the arduous service, to the great benefit of his people. The latter years of his life were embittered by some painful contentions which arose in his church. He used every exertion to allay the animosities, without effect. They seemed to be a special judgment of heaven, to chasten the infant church and colony, to teach them their constant need of divine grace. These contentions issued in a removal of part of the congregation, which laid the foundation of the town and church of Hadley. After this, Mr. Stone continued a few years in great quietness, much beloved by his people, witnessing the blessing of heaven upon his ministry. But in the vigour of his life, and in the season of greatest usefulness, he was called from the service of the church, to rest with the faithful *stewards of the mysteries of God*. He deceased July 20th, 1663, at about sixty years of age.

Mr. Stone possessed a studious mind, and was a distinguished scholar. In the different periods of his life, he spent much time in the pursuit of science, particularly, in his favourite study of theology. He possessed a clear and discriminating mind, he was well versed in the theolo-

* Cowper.

gical discussions of his time, and was a very acute disputant. As it belonged to his province, particularly, as teacher in the church, to illustrate and defend the doctrines of the Scriptures, with this subject he was thoroughly acquainted, and performed the duty with great ability. His preaching was principally doctrinal, in which he exhibited and vindicated divine truth with great clearness, happily adapting his illustrations to the capacity of his hearers. He was also very careful to make a serious practical application of divine truth to the heart and the conscience. In this way he was one of the most instructive and useful preachers in the colonies. He did not ordinarily use written sermons, yet his discourses were the result of much meditation and laborious study.

Mr. Stone possessed a very facetious disposition, a great readiness of mind, and a good share of original humour. This, however, was subject to the high demands of religious gravity and Christian example. These qualities rendered him a very amiable friend, and caused his acquaintance to be sought by all that knew him.

He was a very strict observer of the duties of religion. Two things are noted of him in which he was considered as excelling most pious men of his time. His fastings, and observation of the Sabbath. He spent days of fasting and prayer, very frequently, by himself, exclusive of such as he observed with his church, or congregation, or the colony. On these occasions, he laboured for a close examination of his own heart and character, striving against his corruptions, and imploring the constant aids of divine grace. He also confessed and deplored the transgressions of his people and of the country, lamenting the righteous frowns of God's providence, and intreating the return of his great mercies. At the approach of the Sabbath, which he considered as commencing on Saturday evening, according to the general sentiment of the New-England fathers, he endeavoured to compose his mind in a suitable manner, that he might be *in the Spirit on the Lord's day*, (engaged in spiritual exercises and meditations,) dismissing

worldly cares, not suffering them to intrude upon his conversation, and as little as possible upon his thoughts. He was also very careful to admit nothing in conversation on that day, which would tend to produce levity. On the Sabbath, he considered God as peculiarly present with his people, and especially jealous for the honour of his name. It was his usual practice, on Saturday evening, to deliver to his family the sermon which he designed for the succeeding day.

Though Mr. Stone was a great writer, very few of his compositions were published. One that was published, was a discourse concerning a Congregational Church. His sentiments concerning a Christian church, were more fully congregational than those of almost any of the fathers of New-England. He wrote an able Treatise against Antinomianism, which was never printed. Of this, an English author observed, " Might the world be so happy, as to see a very elaborate confutation of the Antinomians, written by a very acute and solid person, a great disputant, viz. Mr. Stone, of New-England, a congregational divine, it would easily appear that the Congregationalists are not Antinomians." Mr. Baxter saw and highly commended the manuscript. His most elaborate composition was entitled, " A Body of Divinity," in which he exhibited, in a lucid manner, the doctrines of the Reformed Churches, and of the churches of New-England in particular, and vindicated them with great ability. This work was never published, yet it was transcribed by many students in divinity, and was supposed to be one of the best systems that could be obtained. *He was a burning and a shining light.*

REV. MR. DAVENPORT.

Doctor Mather calls Mr. Davenport, PURITANISSIMUS, *most puritan*. It is undoubtedly true that he carried his puritan sentiments, his ideas of the practicable purity of Christian churches, as far as any one of the fathers of

New-England. He is justly ranked with the first of those venerable fathers, and will ever be viewed as one of the most illustrious lights of the American church.

Mr. JOHN DAVENPORT was born at Coventry, in Warwickshire, in the year 1597. His father was an eminent merchant and Mayor of the city of Coventry. His mother was eminent for her piety, yet was removed by death, leaving this son in his infancy, after having dedicated him to the care and special service of God, with great fervor and faith, humbly relying on the special promises of God, to faithful parental dedication. His father possessed the disposition, not less than the ability, to give his son the best opportunities for education. The early application and vigorous genius of the son equalled the exertions and hopes of the father. Before he was fourteen years of age, he was admitted a member of Brazen-Nose College, in the University of Oxford. A little previous to that event, he became, hopefully, a subject to the special influences of divine grace. Divine love, now possessing his soul, seems to have had a governing influence in all the conduct of his future life. Soon after he received the degree of Bachelor of Arts, he commenced a preacher, though he was not more than nineteen years of age. He was, very soon, invited to be an assistant to a minister in London, where he preached constantly, and to great approbation. He possessed an uncommon share of habitual gravity, which gave him a popularity and influence, unusual for his years. He was very laborious in his studies, and having been diligent in the pursuits of science from his infancy, his public discourses appeared like those of a matured divine.

He had not been long in London, when the city was severely visited with the plague. On this trying occasion, he remained with his people, visiting them in their distresses, and administering to them the consolations of the gospel. This Christian fidelity procured him much notice and respect. The more he was known, the more was

he esteemed for his personal merit, and many persons of distinction became his friends.

About the year 1626, a number of distinguished characters in and about London united in a plan for the purchase of impropriations, [church lands in the hands of laymen,] for the purpose of supporting an evangelical ministry in the distant parts of the Kingdom. In this benevolent design, Mr. Davenport was actively engaged. They had made considerable progress in the work, when Bishop Laud, taking umbrage at the design, lest it should eventually prove an encouragement to non-conformity, as it undoubtedly would, resolved to correct the procedure, caused the powers of the company to be revoked, and their funds to be confiscated. It seems that at this time Mr. Davenport had begun to view the Puritans with a favourable eye, yet the habits of his education and his reluctance to dissent from the national church were of such force, that he continued in a general conformity with the ecclesiastical establishment. He was, however, after the business of the impropriations, watched by the Bishop of London, with a constant jealousy.

When a number of pious and public-spirited individuals engaged in the noble design of rearing a Christian Commonwealth in America, Mr. Davenport was very active in the promotion of the undertaking. He was very influential in procuring the Massachusetts patent. Yet he desired that his name might not be inserted as one of the patentees, lest it should be an occasion of prejudicing Bishop Laud against the design. During his residence in London, he contracted a very intimate friendship with Mr. Eaton and Mr. Hopkins, two eminent merchants, which was afterwards productive of the most important events; and ended not but with their lives. How long he continued an assistant minister in London, does not appear. Probably not long. Previous to his troubles with ecclesiastical authority, he was pastor of the church in Coleman street.

Mr. Davenport's connection with the Puritans who commenced the settlement of Massachusetts, with his great esteem of many of those revered characters, naturally turned his attention to the grounds of the separation from the established church, and to examine with candour the nature of the controversy. The more he examined, the less occasion he found, notwithstanding all his prejudices, to disapprove of the measures of the Non-conformists. Still, however, he felt disposed to continue within the pale of the national church, hoping for the reformation of existing abuses. A mysterious event, however, in the holy providence of God, brought his mind, long in suspense, to a firm decision. The eminent Mr. Cotton having fallen under the censures of the hierarchy, for his non-conformity; Mr. Davenport and several other divines, who knew his worth, who were very unwilling that he should become an exile from his country, appointed a special conference, for the purpose of convincing him of what they supposed his mistakes, and of persuading him to comply with the appointed ceremonies, so far at least, as to be permitted to continue his ministry. The points of difference were discussed with great attention, and the issue of the conference was, that Mr. Davenport and some others came into the sentiments of Mr. Cotton, and became convinced of the impropriety of countenancing many of the unauthorized rites and practices of the ecclesiastical establishment. But the same inconformity which made it necessary for Mr. Cotton to remove to America, would prevent Mr. Davenport from exercising his ministry, especially, under the eye of the Bishop of London. Finding that he was like to fall under censure, he communicated to his people without reserve, the circumstances of the case, and assured them that if they wished him to continue with them, he would remain, though at the risk of his ministerial character, his property, his liberty, and his life. But his people knowing his danger, knowing how small was the prospect of their enjoying his labours, when he had deliberately resolved that he could not conform to the controverted

ceremonies, advised him to resign his pastoral connection. This he accordingly did, and hoped to live unmolested in retirement, till Providence should open a door for his further services in his beloved work. But the zeal of the pursuivants would not suffer him to rest. He soon found that his only safety was in flight. He, accordingly, in the year 1633, went over to Holland. As soon as he arrived in that country, he was invited to Amsterdam to be an assistant to Mr. Paget, the aged pastor of the English church in that city. He soon, however, found himself in great embarrassment, on account of the practice of that church of administering baptism, indiscriminately, to the children of all parents. With this practice, he could not conform. He therefore desisted from his ministry in that church, early in the year 1635, and, for a time did no more in his profession than deliver a weekly catechetical lecture. But this soon excited attention, and procured a crowded audience. Seeing little prospect of the establishment of Christian churches, according to the primitive pattern, in that country, he began to turn a more particular attention to the western wilderness, whither many of his pious friends had removed. During his residence in Holland, he received letters from Mr. Cotton, informing him, "That the order of the churches and the Commonwealth, was now so settled in New-England, by common consent, that it brought into his mind the new heaven and new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness." Mr. Davenport returned to England in 1636, and found a number of his friends, in consequence of the increased oppressions of ecclesiastical intolerance, ready to unite with him in a removal to a land of peace. Mr. Davenport, Mr. Eaton, Mr. Hopkins, with a large number of planters which constituted a highly respectable and opulent company, arrived at Boston, to the great joy of the colony, June 26th, 1637. The colony was at that time in a considerable ferment in consequence of the influence of the Antinomian errors, and the Synod of the churches which was called in consequence of those errors, was held at Cambridge the August

following. In that assembly, the extensive theological knowledge, the unprejudiced opinions, and the judicious counsels of Mr. Davenport, were much improved, and produced a most salutary effect. He was eminently instrumental in suppressing the growth of dangerous errors, and restoring harmony to the agitated churches.

In the year 1638, Mr Davenport and his company commenced the settlement of New-Haven. The history of mankind furnishes no instance of the commencement of a colony under more favourable auspices, or of a new settlement which for many years has enjoyed a greater share of social happiness. The most of the planters had been bred in the improvements of cultivated society ; they possessed a competent share of wealth ; they possessed habits of industry and virtue ; they sought for the glory of the divine Saviour. Mr. Davenport and Gov. Eaton possessed the unlimited confidence of all ; a confidence which was never improved but for the common welfare. Mr. Davenport having made the observation that Reformed churches can never be persuaded to make any advances in improvement beyond the limits to which they are led by their first reformers, resolved to have the ecclesiastical constitution of the infant colony, as nearly as possible, conformable to the pattern and precepts of the gospel. Setting aside precedents, therefore, this was their only guide in the formation of their churches. Soon after the commencement of the settlement, a church was organized at New-Haven with great solemnity, and Mr. Davenport became the pastor. The civil and ecclesiastical constitutions of the colony were singularly incorporated with each other, which, according to the sentiments of the present day, was a defect ; yet this connection was attended with the greatest harmony, and productive of the greatest public blessings, during the existence of the colony. The constitution of their civil and religious polity seems to have been, principally, the work of Mr. Davenport, for which, by his extensive learning, he was eminently qualified.

We have before observed that the Colony of New-Haven enjoyed greater internal peace, and suffered less molestation from the Indians, than any of the other colonies. This was owing, principally, to the influence and the unremitted vigilance of their Moses and Aaron, Gov. Eaton and Mr. Davenport. By taking care that the natives were always treated with justice and kindness, they inspired them with an extraordinary confidence, and a correspondent disposition towards the colony. Those two men possessed the veneration of the natives, to a greater degree than any others of their time.

Mr. Davenport was exceedingly laborious in the care of his people, and in the many weighty cares of the rising colony. His influence with his people does not appear to have ever suffered any diminution. His labours were attended with the abundant blessing of heaven. His church continued in great unity, during the whole period of his pastoral relation, near thirty years, and often received additions of those who were apparently *heirs of the grace of life*. But few occasions of public discipline occurred in his church, though few men have ever had a deeper sense of the importance of the discipline of Christ's house, than he. He was very strict in the qualifications for membership, yet his church was large, and they walked together in prayer and love.—In 1643, he was invited, together with Mr. Hooker and Mr. Cotton, to attend the venerable Assembly of Divines, which sat at Westminster. These three American divines were appointed to be members of that assembly. Mr. Davenport was inclined to go. But the others thinking the call not sufficiently weighty to induce so long an absence from their people as would be necessary, especially, while the colonies were in such a tender, critical state, the voyage was not attempted. Could they have been present, they would have been distinguished characters in that illustrious council.

The New-Haven colony, in several instances, sustained severe losses by sea. Heavy losses of property, with ma-

ny valuable lives. Such were their misfortunes on several occasions, that they meditated a general removal. These reasons demanded all the address, all the constancy, all the labours of Mr. Davenport, to allay the agitation, to bring them to a proper acquiescence in the righteous Providence of God, and to keep them from despondency under his holy frowns. He taught them as a divine, he counselled as a friend, he sustained them as a father.

In 1657, he was called to part with his great fellow-labourers in the arduous work of rearing a Christian colony, Gov. Eaton. An additional burden now devolved upon him, but he had learned to look on high for help, and to trust there for all needed assistance.

In the year 1667, Mr. Davenport was invited to take the pastoral charge of the first church in Boston. That was the oldest church except the one at Plymouth, and the most considerable one in the united colonies. On the death of Mr. Wilson, Mr. Davenport was thought to be the only proper man in the colonies, to succeed the eminent characters, who had ministered to that church. After much deliberation, he concluded to go. His people were perfectly united in him, and parted with him, with the utmost reluctance. His removal was unhappy. He was far advanced in life; he continued at Boston but a short period; his people at New-Heaven were not happily settled, till after a number of years. The church at Boston, who had enjoyed the ministry of Mr. Cotton, Mr. Norton, and Mr. Wilson, justly numbered among the first lights of the New-England churches, highly esteemed Mr. Davenport, and derived much profit from his ministrations. Though in his seventieth year, at the time of his removal, his mental powers continued in full vigour. They had hope of enjoying this blessing for a considerable period. But his services in the church on earth were now drawing to a close. On the fifteenth of March, 1670, he was suddenly seized with an apoplexy, by which he was dismissed from a life of faithful and unremitted labour, and removed to his eternal rest. He died in the seventy-third year of his age.

Mr. Davenport was a great scholar. His powers of mind were strong, his genius was comprehensive and vigorous, his judgment was discriminating and sound. While he possessed a strong thirst for learning, he was early formed to habits of study, and his constitution, naturally sound and formed by those habits, would bear an unusual degree of application. He pursued an extensive range in science, so as justly to merit the appellation of a universal scholar ; yet his favourite study was theology, in which he arrived to great attainments. Amid the complicated cares of his station, he spent much time in his study.—He was a man of unshaken integrity, adhering inflexibly to the dictates of duty, undiverted from his object by the allurements of favour, or the alarms of fear. He sought after truth with persevering efforts, but, when obtained it could not be taken from him. He possessed a commanding gravity of demeanour, was reserved in his deportment, bearing in his aspect a solemn sense of a present God, the witness of all human conduct. Possessing a constitution suited to care and labour, with great calls for exertion, he was very diligent in the improvement of time, devoting very little to relaxation. He was a most faithful patriot. He engaged with the sincerest intentions in the service of the New-England colonies, the difficulties which arose never moved his constancy, discouragements never shook his resolution, neither obstacles or success relaxed his exertions. Though his personal reputation was particularly connected with his own colony, there is no evidence that he pursued the interests of that to the prejudice or the neglect of the others. He knew that the precepts of Christianity were better suited to the welfare of a civil community than any others, and therefore endeavoured to infuse them in all their institutions.—No man ever had a greater desire to see a pure gospel church, and no one ever made greater exertions to accomplish the object. When we consider the embarrassments to which he was subjected, in the want of precedents, in the prejudices of his mind

from recent sufferings, in the natural libertinism inherent in new settlements, we are astonished at the wisdom of his designs, the success of his efforts. While he laboured with fidelity, the blessing of heaven attended his labours. His religious sentiments were very similar to those of the most eminent divines in New-England in latter times. Both in Holland and America he bore a firm testimony against the administration of baptism to any infants but those of visible believers. He wrote and published upon that subject, with great ability. He considered experimental religion a necessary qualification for church-membership. The doctrine of the Millennium which was generally exploded in the middle ages, was fully believed by Mr. Davenport, though he was almost singular in his sentiment. He published a small treatise on this subject, in which he expresses a clear belief of the future peace of the church for a thousand years, and the restoration of the Jews.—Mr. Davenport was a very accomplished preacher. He wrote out a great portion of his sermons, though he did not, commonly, use his manuscript in public. His sermons were full of sentiment, of the most solemn, weighty instruction.—To what has been said, it is almost unnecessary to add, he was a man of eminent piety. A sense of a present God, of his holiness and purity ; of his own need and dependence, was evinced in all his conduct. The glory of Christ and the prosperity of his earthly kingdom, were always the first objects of his heart, and, for their attainment, he deemed labours and sufferings as of small account. He was much in prayer, particularly, in frequent constant ejaculatory prayer, which he often recommended, as highly necessary for the maintenance of the Christian life.—But few of his writings have been published. In addition to those already mentioned, he published a valuable and pious treatise entitled, “The Saint’s Anchor-hold.” Another of his publications, was an able discourse entitled, “A demonstration of our blessed Jesus to be the true Messiah.” He also published a treatise on

the power of Congregational Churches. Some smaller tracts of his have been printed. He left a large volume of elaborate sermons on the Book of Canticles, but they have never been published.

The posterity of Mr. Davenport have been considerably numerous. Several of them, as ministers and magistrates, have been highly respectable and useful.

CHAPTER IV.

REMARKS AND OBSERVATIONS.

SECTION I.

THE PROVIDENCE OF GOD VERY VISIBLE IN THE SETTLEMENT OF NEW-ENGLAND....THE ENJOYMENT OF RELIGIOUS PRIVILEGES THE PRIMARY OBJECT....THIS SETTLEMENT A VERY IMPORTANT EVENT.

FOR the purpose of enabling their posterity to form a correct opinion of the venerable Fathers of New-England, and to excite a laudable desire to imitate their exalted virtues, it was proposed in our introductory Section, “to take an historical view of the Puritans, previous and subsequent to their settlement in America ; and to add such remarks as may be necessary to the elucidation of the subject.”

In prosecution of this design, we have given some account of the rise of the Puritans in England, of the causes of their separation from the established Church, of their removal to this country, of the rise and early progress of the several New-England Colonies ; and have attempted to give a sketch of the lives of some of the principal civilians and divines. As this is a subject fertile in the most useful reflections, before it be dismissed, it will be proper to add some general observations.

I. The special Providence of God is strikingly visible in the first settlement of New-England. The particular period in which the settlement was made, seems to have been the only one in which it could have been accomplished. Through the long reign of Queen Elizabeth, there

was an uninterrupted struggle between the Puritans and the Prelates, and it was ever questionable into whose hands the national church would eventually fall. Thus notwithstanding the sufferings to which the former were exposed, there appeared no sufficient cause to induce them to leave their native country. The accession of the royal house of Stewart, bred in the faith of the Church of Scotland, produced such general expectations of a relaxation of the rigours of Episcopacy, that it was a long time before the nation could be persuaded that the oppressions of ecclesiastical intolerance would be continued, much more, that they would be increased. It was not, therefore, till towards the close of the reign of James, and in the early part of the reign of Charles, that the Puritans, generally, relinquished the expectation of a change in the sentiments of the government in their favour, and found that they must fly to other lands to enjoy, unmolested, the pure privileges of the gospel of Christ. In the year 1640, commenced the great contention between the King and the Parliament, which soon produced the most ruinous civil war. As the Parliament espoused the cause of the Puritans and exercised the powers of the government, the oppression of the prelacy ceased, and the principal cause of their emigration from their own country, no longer existed. Had these events occurred twelve or fifteen years earlier, the New-England colonies, of such a character as they possessed, had probably never existed. The French commenced the settlement of Canada in 1608, and not long after took possession of some places on the coast to the eastward of New-England. It was a very favourite object of Cardinal Richlieu, who then managed the concerns of the French monarchy, one of the ablest statesmen that ever sat at the head of a nation, to possess the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, and all the country enclosed by those rivers. And, under his management, that active people were making rapid advances to the accomplishment of the object.—In the year 1614, the Dutch, at that time the most enterprising, persevering nation in Europe, took

possession of Hudson's River, the most important station on the coast of North America, intending to establish permanent and extensive colonies. They had resolved to make an establishment upon the Connecticut, and had prepared to take possession, the same season in which the Plymouth people sailed up the river, and became, by purchase, the lawful proprietors. But the good providence of God brought our fathers to New-England previous to its falling into the possession of other occupants, by whom it would have been shortly settled for far different objects than the establishment of the pure religion of Christ. Any attempt to settle these colonies at an earlier period, could hardly have been successful, since the nation had but just attained to that spirit of enterprise ; to those advancements in commerce and the arts, which are necessary for the support of colonies.

We notice the particular design of Heaven in disposing such characters, as commenced the settlement of New-England, to engage in such a difficult, perilous work. It is not easy to conceive of a greater undertaking than that of a man who leads a colony to a distant wilderness. The greatest transaction on historic record performed by a man, is that of Moses. But this he could not have done, he could never have attempted, without the special aids and promises of God. Next to this was the deed of Columbus. Of a similar nature, are the cares, the anxieties, the fears, the insupportable crosses, and the uninterrupted labours, of those who attempt the establishment of colonies. None but minds formed for adversity, growing stronger under the pressure of difficulties, aspiring to the highest objects and disregarding none, are equal to such a design. Such were the founders of the New-England colonies. The principal of them lived in affluence on the heritage of their progenitors, in all the endearments of domestic tranquillity, heightened by the improvements of science, and the cultivated taste of polished life. Their comforts were not destroyed by idleness and dissipation, they were not languishing in the road of restless ambition,

or sinking under the ever increasing wants of unlimited wealth. In taking the direction of adventurers, who were to commence a settlement in the western wilderness, all these enjoyments must be relinquished, they must be exchanged for the heaviest burden of labour and trial. Every leader of a colony must expect to endure incessant toil and care, and that his utmost fidelity will be repaid with ingratitude and reproach. Under such circumstances, our venerable fathers cheerfully undertook the mighty task; they willingly left all the attractions of their country and their home, and devoted all their powers to the great object before them. Such characters were necessary for the work, and God disposed them to engage in his service.

While the good providence of God disposed the principal characters to engage in this great design, from the purest motives; many others were influenced by various inducements to lend their aid to the same object. During the long struggles between the Papal power and the Princes of the Reformation, through the influence of ancient enmity, and the jealousy of rival powers, many of the most ardent devotees of Popery were led to afford their assistance to the Protestant cause. In the same manner, in the mysterious providence of God, many persons of character and influence, who could not be friends to the great object for which New-England was colonized, under the influence of various personal motives, were brought to afford their most active exertions for the promotion of the design. Though few characters of this description migrated to this country, they were not less solicitous to advance the settlement.

It is a very singular fact, that, while the government of the nation, and all the ecclesiastical authority, were using their most vigilant exertions to suppress evangelical religion, and put an effectual stop to the progress of puritanism, and while the New-England colonies were formed for the express purpose of the promotion of these objects; they were suffered to proceed with very little molestation. The company that formed the settlement of

Plymouth, having long experienced the severities of ecclesiastical tyranny, were fearful of forming a settlement in any of the dominions of the British king, without a promise that they should not be obstructed in the free exercise of their religion. Frequent and earnest solicitations were made to the royal court for such a permission. But as such a concession would not comport with the maxims of a bigotted prince and a persecuting prelate, it was never obtained. The adventurers, therefore, committed their case to the protection of God, and they were not disappointed. The succeeding companies, though many important civil privileges were secured to them by patent, could obtain no more than indirect intimations that they might enjoy liberty of conscience in the services of religion. They hoped, indeed, that the God whom they served, would remember their wants, and that the distance of three thousand miles would mitigate the rage of persecution. The religious order which they established was directly opposed to the sentiments of the government, and was such as they had long laboured to suppress. But through the interference of various causes, in which the hand of God was peculiarly visible, they were left undisturbed, till their churches had become firmly established. Archbishop Laud resolved at length, to interfere, and subject the colonies to the same ecclesiastical order as the mother country. But his death soon put an end to the design. The long period of the civil wars, and the commonwealth which then succeeded, enabled the ecclesiastical institutions of the colonies to acquire such a consistence as could not easily be dissolved. That remarkable interval in the English monarchy, of which there has been no equal in ten centuries, was the occasion of the establishment of the gospel order of the New-England churches. How unsearchable and holy are the appointments of God?

The divine interposition in favour of the early settlement of this land, was signally manifest in the removal and restraint of the natives. Their disposition is naturally jealous, and almost every cause existed to excite their

hostility against the colonies. This, however was in a great measure prevented. Three years before the landing of the planters at Plymouth, an epidemical disease raged in all t at part of the country with such violence, that many of their principal stations were nearly depopulated, and many of the tribes almost annihilated. Had not God thus driven out the heathen before them, that little band, few, sickly, and almost famished, to human appearance, must have become the victims of savage cruelty. In 1634, the small-pox made great desolation among the natives in the vicinity of the Massachusetts and Plymouth colonies. A little previous to the commencement of the Christian settlements, long wars had prevailed among several of the tribes, which had been attended with great animosity, and the severest acts of injustice and cruelty. These animosities continued, and proved an insuperable obstacle to a general union for the extirpation of the colonies. While many of the most artful and implacable savages were ever labouring to effect such a combination, their enemies would reveal their machinations to the English, and would frequently form alliances with them against the power of their ancient oppressors. Thus, there was never any general Indian war till more than forty years after the settlement of the colonies. They had then become able to resist all their force.

In many individual occurrences, the special interposition of Heaven, in favour of our ancestors, was eminently manifest. In several instances, they were in the utmost danger of perishing by famine; but were providentially relieved. Relief frequently appeared, when, according to all human calculations, it could not have been expected. The first winter after the arrival of the numerous company in Massachusetts, the weather was very severe, and, in the depth of winter, their provisions universally failed; the first families were reduced to the last baking of bread. At this juncture, while all knees bended before God, the ship *Lion*, with a large supply, arrived at Boston. She had had a stormy passage, and rode amid heavy

drifts of ice in the harbour. But its great Pilot brought her safe to shore.—In the drought at Plymouth, the second summer of the settlement, their corn, which was their whole dependence, appeared irrecoverably gone, the leaves and stalks were generally withered. On a day of solemn fasting, the rains of heaven began to descend in a gentle and copious manner, and contrary to all expectation of English and Indians, produced a plentiful crop.—The first winter of the settlement of Connecticut, on the failure of the expected supplies, about seventy persons travelled down the river, as the only means of saving their lives, in hopes to meet their provisions. Being disappointed, they went on board a vessel, firmly bound in the ice. By a sudden thaw the vessel was soon released, and with a favourable passage, sailed in five days to Boston. They could not have subsisted five days longer. In the war with the Pequods, it was scarcely less evident that God fought for his people, than in the most successful wars of his ancient Israel.

The special agency of God in behalf of our fathers, appears in preserving them from sinking in despondency. Never were such trials, such discouragements, such fearful dangers, appointed for any other people. But they were never disheartened; they never sunk under their difficulties or prospects; they never regretted that they had undertaken this great design, and they never lost their confidence that God would do good things for his churches in New-England. Oftentimes, nothing appeared before them but remediless ruin, yet their great maxim ever was, *Although the fig-tree shall not blossom, neither shall fruit be in the vine; the labour of the olive shall fail, and the fields shall yield no meat; the flock shall be cut off from the fold, and there shall be no herd in the stalls; yet I will rejoice in the Lord, I will joy in the God of my salvation.*

II. The primary object of the settlement of New-England was the enjoyment of the privileges of the gospel, and the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom.

The planters of the first colony, after their arrival at Cape Cod, formed themselves into a body politic, by a written instrument, which they signed. In the preamble, they say, "We whose names are under-written,—Having undertaken, for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian Faith, and honour of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia; Do by these presents," &c. The Plymouth company left their own country, and went to Holland, solely for the sake of the enjoyment of their religion. After a residence of several years in that country, they became convinced of the general corruption of the Dutch churches, and saw the danger that their posterity would decline from the faithful service of Christ. Thus, though their circumstances there were prosperous, and the magistrates and people of Amsterdam were pleased with their residence in that city, they resolved to make a new attempt for the service of their Lord in the wilderness of America. The privileges of religious ordinances, they enjoyed in the fullest manner while in Holland, but they had not that opportunity of labouring for the special prosperity of Zion, which they had long desired. They therefore resolved on a removal. Many attempts had been made to establish colonies in America for the sake of commerce and gain. The most of these had been wholly abortive. At length a plan was projected in England, by certain individuals of eminent piety and zeal, for the settlement of a colony for the purposes of religion. The first object in this great design, was to advance the interests of the Redeemer's cause; the second, to afford a peaceful asylum, where all who desired to worship him according to the simplicity of the gospel, might enjoy the privilege unmolested. The latter object could not be obtained without a subjection to all the perils of a trackless wilderness. Holland, Scotland, and other kingdoms, would have given them a most welcome residence, where they could enjoy the free exercise of their religion without disturbance. But for the sake of the former, for the sake of extending

Zion's borders, for the sake of rearing churches in conformity with the pure precepts of Christ, for the sake of inviting perishing pagans to become *partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light*, they could endure every privation, they could risk every danger. They felt something of the worth of the Mediator's earthly kingdom, they knew that it must ever be built up by the efforts of his people, and they desired to bring their feeble services to the help of the Lord.

That the promotion of true religion, was the primary object of the settlement of these colonies, was uniformly professed by all the leading characters engaged in the work. The character of those eminent men, their sacrifices, their exertions, their perseverance, preclude every imputation of insincerity in this profession.

The cause of religion was the leading object, in all their institutions. Their laws, their regulations, whether of a private or a more public nature, their literary establishments, all bore the same character. Every attentive observer may discover that the advancement of the cause of Christ, the defence of the true doctrines of the gospel, the salvation of immortal souls, the preservation of churches in Christian purity, and their progress to more perfect light, was ever chiefly in view. The administration of civil government proceeded upon the same principles, and carefully kept in view the great design. There was a cordial co-operation between ministers of the gospel and civil magistrates, affording each other mutual assistance in their respective departments, for they were labouring for one common object. In the construction and administration of the government, as well as in all their ordinary regulations, they endeavoured to draw all the light they could obtain from the only perfect standard, Divine Revelation. That in this they acted correctly, even as civilians, is hereafter to be shown.

No object but the cause of religion could have carried our fathers through such scenes of labour and suffering, as

they endured. Had not their souls been animated by that love of Christ which is characteristic of his people ; had they not felt that they were engaged in the cause of God which must ultimately prevail ; had they not leaned upon his promises, and upon the supports of the holy Comforter ; had they not enjoyed the approbation of conscience and the direction of divine truth, they must often have been overwhelmed with the weight of their burdens. Interest, pride, and ambition, will induce men to submit to very severe toil and suffering. But their efforts will be unsteady, their resolution will be inconstant, their submission will be discomposed and passionate. Steadiness in suffering, activity in the view of obstacles, and constancy in discouragements, are the proper characteristics of the servants of Christ. These qualities were eminent in the fathers of New-England, and are a satisfactory evidence that their first object was the service of their Lord.

Had they been led by those motives which ordinarily influence human conduct ; had they been in the pursuit of wealth, of distinction, of power ; had they been influenced by a spirit of hostility to their own country or its government ; or guided by the frenzy of enthusiasm ; they certainly took the most effectual measures to defeat their object. Many other parts of America afforded prospects for a rich and flourishing colony, far more favourable than New-England. They ever acknowledged and inculcated an unshaken allegiance to the mother country, and made great exertions to retain the friendship of the government and the nation. Their ecclesiastical regulations were calculated to suppress enthusiasm, and prevent its admission. Their civil institutions were an effectual bar to the projects of individual ambition.

It were easy to adduce the most substantial testimonies to show, that the advancement of religion was the leading object in view in the first settlement of New-England. But this is unnecessary. The fact is supported by the concurrent declaration of all the early writers.

III. The settlement of New-England is a very important event in the history of mankind. It was a new experiment in civil society, and one of the noblest efforts in the history of the church. The famous Admiral of France, Jasper Coligni, made an attempt, in the sixteenth century, to establish a Christian colony in the Brazils, for the benefit of French Protestants. The design was well conceived, but not being prosecuted with the necessary steadiness, it soon came to an end. The Christian world had been wishing for ages to see some judicious attempt for the regulation of civil society upon the principles of the gospel. But as this religion had ever been confined to countries where civil government was established, and established, generally, by accident or violence, such an event was rather hoped for, than expected. In the settlement of New-England, the experiment was made, and made under the most auspicious circumstances. It was at a time when the doctrines of Christianity were well understood; when the principles of civil government were thoroughly canvassed; when European nations, emerged from the darkness of papal superstition and the shackles of feudal tyranny, knew the rights of civil and religious liberty; when the necessity of commerce and the arts for national prosperity were well ascertained. The planters of New-England were from a nation where these truths were as well understood and as highly appreciated as in any other. The principal persons engaged in this design were no less suited to the work, than the time of the undertaking was favourable. They understood and knew how to estimate the blessings of civil society, the privileges of liberty and law; they knew the character of the religion of the Lord Jesus, and had some just estimation of its worth. They possessed a desire for the prosperity of this religion, and a confidence in its promises, which temporary discouragements could not abate. From the persevering constancy which they exhibited, we safely conclude that they duly estimated the nature of the enterprise, that they calculated its hazards and were prepared

to encounter unforeseen difficulties, and to spend their lives in the service.—Another circumstance, highly characteristic of this great design, is not to be omitted. As it was undertaken, primarily, for the glory of God, the event was always committed to his holy Providence. Their dependence was on high. They knew the dangers to which they were exposed; they knew their own weakness; they knew their own integrity; they rested with an humble confidence on the holy disposal of Infinite Wisdom. They knew indeed that the Most High does not always succeed, directly, the exertions of his people for the extension of the Redeemer's cause. But they resolved to make the attempt and leave the issue. All their undertakings were preceded with fasting and prayer. They did not come to any important decision, without earnest supplications to heaven for wisdom and direction. Mr. Robinson directed his people to adopt the course of Ezra, when leading a chosen company to Jerusalem, who proclaimed a fast, *that we might afflict ourselves before our God, to seek of him a right way for us, and for our little ones, and for all our substance.* This was the uniform practice in all the steps of this great enterprize. They implored the guidance of Heaven, they spared no efforts of their own, they left the event with God.

The experiment which was thus made in the establishment of Christian colonies, has issued in the most important results; results in favour of human society, which had never before existed. It has shown that civil society may be established upon Christian principles, to the highest benefit of the community. It has proved that such an attempt, reasonably and justly estimated, is not a chimera. Many good men, in various ages of Christianity, have believed that a community might be collected wholly composed of true Christians, needing no other government than the discipline of the church; and have earnestly desired to see a community thus constituted. Such an expectation is clearly visionary; it is evidently an object which divine Providence has not designed to accomplish.

Far different were the expectations of the founders of New-England. Their object was to establish a civil community, with a primary reference to the interests of religion, and upon the general principles of the gospel of Christ. They succeeded.—The discoveries of the present age have led to the conclusion, in opposition to the opinion of all preceding legislators, that civil government ought to be unconnected with any religion whatever. The Fathers of New-England have established the fact, not only, that the obligations of religion are necessary to the welfare of civil society ; a truth which needed no confirmation ; but that of every species of religion, that of the gospel is the best suited to this object. The only sure test of human institutions is their effects. By these, the establishment, of the New-England planters must be tried.

Few colonies of ancient or modern states have had to contend with equal difficulties with those of New-England. I know not of another solitary instance of a colony proceeding from their native country to form a new settlement, which could expect no encouragement or support from the parent state. All ancient nations viewed their colonies, however distant, as their children ; all that *these* hoped from the mother country, separated by a vast ocean, in a wilderness of savages, was to be *let alone*. They were at an immense distance from their necessary supplies, and from any civilized society. They were surrounded with numerous savage enemies. They were few in number. Their country and climate were unfavourable to any rapid advancement. A great portion of the people were destitute of property, and wholly unacquainted with the labour of a wilderness.

Under all these embarrassments, they have continued and advanced with great prosperity. They were never broken up, nor attempted a removal. To those acquainted with the history of colonies, the notice of this fact will not appear strange. Nothing has been more common with infant colonies, than their discouragement, their removal, and their return to their native country. The people

possessed as great a share of civil liberty as has been enjoyed by any other. Justice was administered with vigour, and the laws were obeyed. I find no account of any forcible opposition to the laws, or any internal commotion, in which any blood was shed, for one hundred and fifty years. Their external peace was occasionally interrupted by war, but their wars were generally short, and they had a much greater portion of peace than has been common in civilized countries.—They were prospered with a great increase. In the year 1640, on account of the change in the affairs of the English nation, the emigration to New-England generally ceased. From that time to the American Revolution, it was believed that as many people went from New-England to the mother country, as came from thence to the colonies. Those who were best acquainted with the subject, calculated that the number of settlers which arrived in New-England by the year 1640, including men; women, and children, were 21,200. From the year 1640, to the year 1775, the commencement of the American war, the population of New-England, by natural increase, notwithstanding all their poverty and weakness, was doubled about once in twenty-six years. The population of the United States, from the year 1790, to 1810, increased in a ratio which would double in about twenty-one years. This was a period of profound peace, of extraordinary national prosperity; while the population was increased in the middle and western States especially, by an immense accession of foreign emigrants. The progress of the New-England colonies in wealth, exceeded that of any of the colonies which now constitute the United States. As the greater part of the property of the original planters was consumed in a few of the former years of the settlement, and as the colonies received no aid from opulent proprietors in the mother country, which was true of most of the other American Colonies, this increase was the natural result of industry and frugality. With regard to our present state of society, it becomes us to speak with diffidence; but such as it is, it is an inheritance derived from the institutions of our Fathers.

The settlement of New-England is an important event as it has shown what description of a public community may expect the divine blessing. But this remark it is hardly necessary to add, since such men, pursuing such an object, by such means, always will experience the special approbation and favour of Heaven. This was a noble effort to extend the cause of the divine Redeemer among men. Complacent angels leaned over Heaven's battlements to witness the scene ; the King of glory removed the enemy, and dissipated every danger.

SECTION II.

THE last Section commenced a series of Remarks, which are believed to be necessary for the proper illustration and conclusion of this subject. We now proceed to observe,

IV. The religious character of the New-England Fathers deserves, in this place, a particular consideration. Their religious sentiments and practice make a very essential part of their character ; they constitute a subject on which much has been said, and much without due examination. Nothing will now be offered except what is derived from unquestionable authority. It has already been shown that the enjoyment of gospel privileges, and the advancement of the interests of the Redeemer, was the primary object of the settlement of New-England. Their great design was, as we have often observed, to form a Christian community. In the formation and government of their churches, the word of God was their only rule. And, without regarding human precedents, or any practices to which they had been accustomed, they regulated their churches, so far as they understood the sacred oracles, by that divine standard. Still, they recognized the principles of civil government, as the only proper basis of human society, and held sacred the long estab-

lished maxims of civil liberty and law. To these principles, they consigned all their political regulations, keeping ever in view those precepts of civil policy which are found in the word of God. The principle of a community of property, which prevailed for a season in the Christian church, in the early period of the apostolic age, was never acknowledged by the colonists of New-England. The small company which commenced the settlement of Plymouth, at first had the greater part of their property in a public stock. But as soon as they considered themselves settled, they proceeded to a division, according to their respective claims.

The order of church government, in which the New-England churches were founded, was congregational. They believed that a single church, composed of a number of individuals, united together by covenant engagements to observe the precepts and ordinances of Christ, had received from him all due authority for the enjoyment of his ordinances, and for the government of his house. They held that the administration of discipline ought to be exercised immediately by the officers of the church, but by the authority of the church residing in the members. They considered it very desirable that a church should enjoy two ministers, a pastor, and a teacher. The former to labour with his people in admonition, exhortation, and counsel ; the latter to explain, vindicate, and enforce the doctrines of divine truth. A ruling elder was held by them to be a proper church officer, who was to assist the minister or ministers in the duties of discipline, to take a lead in the church on the various occasions which called for their particular deliberations, and, in the want of a minister, to perform the duties of divine service. In some instances, the ruling elder was a preacher. Such was Mr. Brewster, the venerable elder of the church of Plymouth, who, with great faithfulness and ability, performed the duties of a pastor in that church, for many years. With regard to the communion of the churches, personal religion, consisting in a degree of conformity of heart and

character to the precepts of the gospel, was considered an indispensable qualification. If the circumstances of the candidates rendered it suitable, they chose to have a relation of their religious exercises and views, in presence of the church ; if otherwise, an examination by the officers of the church was deemed sufficient. The respective churches were generally united in a very solemn covenant, in which the members dedicated themselves to God, to one another, and to the service of the gospel of Christ. It was a frequent practice with the churches to renew their covenant ; on which occasions, all the members renewed their engagements to be the Lord's, in the same manner as when first admitted to the number of his visible people. In the year 1676, all the churches in the Plymouth colony, at the desire of the General Court, with great solemnity, on a day of public humiliation, renewed their covenant with God and with one another. The same was done repeatedly, by most of the churches in the different colonies. This transaction, in several instances, was attended with the signal approbation of Heaven, in public blessings, and in the special manifestations of divine grace. At the general Synod held at Boston in 1679, in answer to the question, " What is to be done that the evils which have provoked the divine judgments upon the colonies may be reformed ?" a general renewal of covenant by the churches was particularly recommended. These were occasions of the most imposing solemnity, and tended, not less, to impress every beholder with the high responsibility of the Christian standing, than to awaken the professor to repentance, humility, and a steadfast fidelity in the service of his Lord.

Fasting was a practice, for which the fathers of New-England were much distinguished. Of this, there were three different kinds. Public fasts, appointed by the civil authority, and observed by all the congregations in a colony ; particular fasts, in which an individual congregation or church united in the service ; and private fasts of individual Christians. Their public fasts were observ-

ed annually, according to our present practice, and on all occasions of the special frowns of divine Providence. They knew that all the judgments of a righteous heaven are in consequence of sin : and in the day of divine displeasure, they sought to humble themselves before God, to confess public and individual transgressions, to implore his pardoning mercy, and a gracious return of his benignant smiles. In times of approaching and existing war, of prevailing pestilence, of a general scarcity of bread, of unfavourable seasons, of drought, of public divisions and contentions, of the active efforts of enemies, whereby the general welfare was endangered,—they proclaimed a fast, wept and kneeled before God. Individual churches and societies, in cases of local calamities, of losses, afflictions, and dangers, would unitedly humble themselves before the Most High, with prayer and fasting. When any particular divisions existed in a church or society, they would usually *agree together* to ask counsel and help from on high. Churches and congregations that were destitute of the stated gospel ministrations, especially if long destitute and disappointed in their prospects, felt it peculiarly incumbent on them to fast and pray. Churches frequently observed a fast preparatory to the Lord's Supper. Individual Christians, so far as we know the best part of their lives, were much in the duty of fasting. Some would observe a fast with their families. But the more common practice was to perform this service in secret. Some of the more eminently pious characters observed fasts periodically, some, monthly, and others, still more frequently ; and on these occasions, they endeavoured to lay aside their ordinary employments for the day. To what degree of abstinence they usually proceeded in their fasts, I have not been able precisely, to learn ; but this was considered an essential part of the service.

The Planters of New-England were very attentive to a sacred observance of the Sabbath. The morality and perpetual obligation of the Sabbath became one of the

principal subjects of difference between the Puritans and their opposers in England, previous to the emigrations to America. This subject was carried to such an extent, that a solemn observance of the Lord's day became a distinctive characteristic of a Puritan. They considered that all who loved Christ must love his holy day, and that a faithful observance of his Sabbath, is indispensably necessary to the maintenance of the life of religion in the hearts of his people. They well knew also, that the religion and morals of any community will generally be graduated by the observance of the Sabbath. They felt therefore, that it was of the first importance to use every exertion to maintain the sacred observation of the day, as, eminently the day of the Lord. This duty was enforced with great energy by the example of the most conspicuous characters; it was earnestly inculcated from the word of God, in public and private instruction; it was firmly enforced by public law. When the detached company from the first ship, sent to look a place for their settlement, entered the harbour of Plymouth, they were unable to accomplish their object previous to the Sabbath. On the arrival of that day, they suspended their operations, landed upon a small island, and solemnized the Lord's day. In the expedition of the Connecticut troops against the Pequod Indians, the little army having arrived in the Narraganset country on Saturday, rested till the following Monday to devote the Sabbath to Him who claims it as his own. As that was a case in which despatch was of the utmost importance, human wisdom would censure this measure; yet no expedition was ever more successful. The manner in which these pious fathers generally spent the Sabbath was, in public worship, in family instructions and prayer, in searching the Scriptures, and in secret retirement. The instruction of their families in divine things was considered a very special part of the duties of the Lord's day. They began the Sabbath on Saturday evening; well knowing that all the authority that we have respecting the time of its commencement, directs us

to that period. Of this practice, Mr. Cotton and some others published able vindications.

Catechetical instruction was considered by our ancestors to be of primary importance. This mode of instruction was much practised, in various ways. In family visits, the ministers would frequently catechize the whole family, proposing questions to the several members, according to their respective capacity. This mode of instruction was adopted sometimes with the churches; in which case, meetings of the members were held for that purpose. The catechizing of children and youth was considered an object of the first importance. This was attended in families, in schools, and in public, at times particularly appointed for the purpose. In some places a part of the intermission of public worship on the Sabbath was employed in catechizing the children. This was done by the pastor, or by the ruling elder or deacons of the church. The Assembly of Divines' Catechism, published in 1645, did not come into general use till near the close of that century. Previous to this, the catechism most in use was one composed by the eminent Mr. William Perkins.—In connection with this part of the subject, it may be added, religious family visits were considered an essential part of public instruction. These were much attended to by the ministers, and were found to be highly beneficial. It was common for the minister to be attended by the elder or a deacon of the church. Where there were two ministers, visiting was a material part of the duty of the pastor; if the church had but one minister, the ruling elder was often employed in visiting, without the assistance of the pastor. The object of these visits was to communicate religious instruction, to preserve the people from errors and vice, to impress them with the importance of divine institutions, and to maintain the harmony of societies and churches.

Meetings for Christian conference were esteemed by the founders of our churches highly conducive to the promotion of vital religion. These were much attended in most of the towns, on ordinary and extraordinary occasions. On

occasions of any special calamity or danger, they were attended with more earnestness and frequency ; but on ordinary occasions they were often held, for the purpose of prayer and praise, to confer on the more important truths of practical religion, and to seek instruction from the word of God. By these means, experimental religion was preserved glowing in the hearts of Christians, a spirit of prayer was maintained and invigorated in the breasts of those that loved the mercy-seat, and enquiring sinners had a resort congenial to their wounded souls. Sixty years after the settlement of the colonies, a writer observes, "The country still, is full of those little meetings."

This pious people considered singing of praise an essential part of divine worship. This was much practised in their religious meetings, public and private. The version of the Psalms first used was Ainsworth's ; after which, they used one called the New-England Psalm Book. This version was made, I believe, principally, by Mr. Cotton. It was common for the minister to expound a little upon the psalm before the singing. Some congregations sang the psalms in course. The whole congregation were supposed to join in this part of the worship, but those who sang were expected to be furnished with books. The practice of reading the line was not introduced till many years after the first settlement of the country. This custom was introduced in Plymouth in 1681.

Revivals of religion were a subject of the full belief and the constant prayer of our venerable fathers. They believed that God had set times to favour Zion, that he had always appeared at particular seasons, to bring salvation and deliverance to his church. Their churches frequently enjoyed the special presence of the Holy Spirit, in the efficacy of his power, reviving the graces of his own people, and bringing sinners to Christ. Many accounts are given of precious revivals, which greatly enlarged and strengthened their churches. In times of general inattention to divine things, the more faithful Christians took the alarm, redoubled their exertions, fasted and pray-

ed, calling upon their brethren and their fellow-sinners to consider the danger and call on the Lord. On such occasions the expedient of renewing covenant was frequently adopted, and was often attended with a most gracious answer from God.

The private administration of sacraments was practised with great caution, if at all. As this was one of the grounds of the separation of the Puritans from the English Church, they would be very careful in introducing a custom which had been the subject of such constant censure. In 1718, a sick child was baptized in Plymouth, at his father's house. This is said to be the first instance of a private baptism administered in that town. It is well known that the Fathers of New-England held that professing Christians and their seed are the only proper subjects of the ordinance of baptism. In the Synod of 1662, held at Boston, it was recommended to the churches to admit persons of orderly lives, who did not profess an acquaintance with experimental religion, to own the covenant of the church and bring their children to baptism. (The most of the fathers had now finished their course.) The Synod were much divided upon the question, and it became immediately, and long continued to be, a subject of much debate. The most of the churches ultimately came into the practice, but some of them delayed many years, and many never admitted it all. The parent church at Plymouth did not admit the practice till the year 1731; and did not continue it more than thirty or forty years. According to Dr. Trumbull, this practice was first introduced in the churches of Connecticut in 1696. It is now, generally gone into disuse.—The churches, generally, considered the children of the members as children of the church; and the subjects of special attention, for religious instruction, prayer, and hope.

Gospel discipline in churches, was considered by our ancestors an object of the first attention. Whenever they suffered under the special frowns of Providence, they began to conclude that a relaxation of needful discipline was

a leading cause of the divine displeasure. But they considered the essential part of discipline to consist in affectionate admonition and counsel, in particular care in the admission of members, in a faithful vigilance against the causes of error; unwilling to resort to ecclesiastical process, except in cases of unavoidable necessity.

Though the early churches of New-England were independent of each other, acknowledging no superiour authority under Christ, they held it to be an important duty to exercise a Christian fellowship, and maintain a friendly connection with each other. At the formation of the church of Salem, which was the second church in the colonies, that of Plymouth sent messengers to give them the hand of fellowship. A certificate of good standing entitled a member of any church to occasional communion in any other. Yet it was held to be proper and expedient, when a member of one church desired to become connected with another, that he should be examined in the same manner as if he were to make an original profession. They considered it the right and duty of a church to admonish a neighbouring church, when supposed to walk disorderly; but not to withhold communion till the subject of grievance had been reasonably canvassed. It was generally held by the founders of these churches, that it was right and highly sidesirable that churches be consociated for their mutual benefit. These consociations were to be a common bond of union, and were an ecclesiastical judicatory in cases which were referred to them by the churches. But they possessed no power over them by inherent right. The churches still suffering for the lacerations of ecclesiastical authority, could not be persuaded for a considerable time to adopt consociations. The best of the fathers however uniformly advised to the measure. It was constantly advocated by Mr. Hooker, who recommended it more earnestly near the close of his life. The churches, at length, came into the sentiment, generally, and by the Synod of 1662, consociations were declared to be lawful and highly useful. These fathers considered also, that the association

of Ministers for their mutual benefit, and the benefit of their ministrations, was important, and that their meetings ought to be held as often as they could be with convenience. Some of their associations met once in a month. At these meetings they considered questions for their own improvement and such as respected the welfare of the churches. Mr. Hooker of Hartford was frequently present at associations in Massachusetts.

The fathers of New-England felt themselves under great obligations to labour to Christianize the natives of the country. Having migrated to this wilderness for the sake of advancing the cause of the Redeemer, and enlarging the borders of his Zion, they felt themselves imperiously called to teach the way of salvation to these brethren of humanity worshipping *gods which see not, nor hear, nor know*. The measures which they took to accomplish this important object, were most judicious; they were pursued with steadiness, and were attended with the most encouraging success. Duly estimating that fundamental principle of the Christian system, that *our benevolent exertions for the good of our fellow-men are always to be directed in proportion to their nearness to ourselves*, they saw their poor neighbours perishing for want of divine instruction, and they laboured earnestly for their relief. As the most effectual means to win the natives to the acceptance of their religion, they took great pains to treat them with justice and kindness, and to prevent their receiving any injury. Having, in this way, obtained their confidence, some eminent men learned their language, translated the Scriptures for their use, established schools for their instruction, and thus communicated divine truth to their understanding, while the grace of God, in many instances, impressed it savingly upon their hearts. The churches considered a course of conduct calculated to bring the natives to a faithful knowledge of divine truth, an important Christian duty, and a neglect or violation of this, a censurable offence.

No one can read the history of the first planters of this country, without perceiving their ardent desire, and great exertions, for the enjoyment of the means of grace and the appointed ordinances of the gospel. In the earliest times of the colonies, no new settlement was commenced without a minister. The formation of a church and the erection of a convenient house* for the worship of God, was one of the first objects of their care. So far as I have been able to learn the facts, the towns which were settled in the colonies for a hundred years from their commencement, did not contain forty families, on an average, when they erected their first meeting-house, and began to enjoy the stated ministrations of the gospel. I am inclined to believe the number would be nearer thirty families than forty. There are several accounts in tradition that at the raising of the first meeting-house, every person belonging to the town sat down on the sills of the frame. Those *raisings* were generally concluded with a prayer of thanksgiving and a song of praise, less imposing, indeed, but not less humble and sincere, than that mightiest of human spectacles, when the greatest of eastern monarchs dedicated to the God of Israel, the house which he had builded for his name. The first minister of the towns, more commonly, lived and died with his people. The ministers, generally, received such a support from their people, as to be able to be devoted to the great duties of their profession. Thus, spending their time in study, and in the particular duties of their calling, they were eminent scholars, they became able theologians; *rightly dividing the word of truth*, they acquired that degree of influence which has been proverbial to the present time. Similar causes, in any state of society, would produce nearly equal effects.

* These buildings they called Meeting-houses. That any of their posterity should be so regardless of confounding language as to call them Churches, is much to be regretted.

The Christian character of our revered ancestors appears in nothing more conspicuous, than in their deeds of charity. The whole enterprise, by which they opened a pathless wilderness and laid the foundations of civilized society in a savage desert, evinced a public spirit, a disinterestedness, a readiness for personal sacrifices, which can scarcely find a parallel. The leaders of these colonies well knew that the existence of their settlements depended, under God, on their own exertions. They had no expectation of support from the parent country, a great portion of the people were necessarily poor, and would naturally look for help to those who led them to the wilderness. In this expectation, they were never disappointed. The principal characters made it their business, at all times, to search out the circumstances of the needy, and to see that they were supplied. When any individuals sustained any special losses, by fire, by sickness, or by any providential appointment, their neighbours and others, always afforded them a liberal assistance. If they were poor, they were frequently more than compensated for their loss. If any particular settlement sustained special injury by the depredations of war, by pestilence, or by untoward seasons, the charity of the others, called forth with liberal hand, enabled them to forget their misfortune. Neither was their charity confined to their own, but the colonies at the southward, and even at the West Indies, though not the most friendly to the colonies of New-England, in times of public calamity, experienced their liberal assistance. Widows and orphans were the particular subjects of their charity. Orphan children were frequently educated by charitable friends, and prepared for public usefulness. The families of ministers who had been faithfully devoted to their work, were remembered with affectionate care. In the service of the public, and in acts of charity, Gov. Winthrop spent the most of a great estate. Most of the governors and magistrates imitated his example. Mr. Cotton dispensed great sums in charity. Hearing

of the distresses of a small Christian colony at the island of Bermudas, who, in consequence of oppressions and losses, were in a state of severe suffering, he made great exertions to obtain a collection for their relief. Having set a most liberal example himself, he procured among his own people at Boston, 200 pounds, and in other parts of the colonies, 500 pounds, which large sum was immediately sent to the relief of that distressed people, and arrived on the day when they had made the last division of their small pittance of provisions, and their pious Pastor, in confidence and faith, had just been preaching from the testimony of the Psalmist, *The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want*. According to the present value of money, 100 pounds sterling at that time cannot be estimated less than twelve or thirteen hundred dollars. Such a contribution would appear incredible, if it were not well attested, and confirmed by numerous correspondent incidents in the character of this extraordinary people. In 1706, all the churches in Massachusetts had a contribution for the relief of the island of St. Christophers, which had been ravaged by an enemy. We have stated already, in the life of Mr. Hooker, from an early biographer, that "it was no rare thing for him to give sometimes five pounds, sometimes ten pounds at a time, towards the support of widows and orphans, especially those of deceased ministers." We have mentioned also, that Mr. Hooker and his people freighted a small vessel with several hundred bushels of corn, and sent it to the people of Southampton, on Long-Island, who were in a suffering state. Were we favoured with a full account of the lives of many more of these fathers than we possess, we should probably find in most of them instances of charity equally liberal according to their ability, with those which are particularly mentioned.

With a few remarks on the doctrinal sentiments of the New-England fathers, this view of their religious character will be concluded. In doctrine, the Puritans were Calvinists. John Calvin was born at Noyon, in France, in the year 1509. Though Luther was the great leader

of the Reformation, as he broke the arm of the Catholic power ; Calvin was the greatest instrument in the hand of Providence of enlightening the reformed churches, and establishing them in the true doctrines of Christianity. He spent the most of his public life at Geneva, and regulated the Genevan church according to his views of the precepts of the gospel. The church of Geneva was adopted by the Puritans of England as a model, both in doctrine and practice. The whole English church, at the Reformation, adopted the doctrinal sentiments of that of Geneva, but a majority of them inclined to preserve a portion of their ancient hierarchy and religious ceremonies. The most eminent English Reformers fully agreed with Calvin in doctrinal sentiment, and in that sentiment established their Articles of Faith. During the reign of Elizabeth, and a part of that of James, there was no controversy of consequence between the Puritans and the abettors of the ecclesiastical establishment, on the subject of doctrines. When the sentiments of Arminius began to prevail in England, the Puritans firmly opposed them as inconsistent with the truths of the gospel. Those doctrines of the gospel, therefore, which have been generally termed Calvinistic, they continued to embrace, and with these sentiments they laid the foundation of the New-England churches. All their Confessions of Faith are full in the doctrines of grace ; these they taught and defended with great ability and constancy, and in the support arising from them, they *took joyfully the spoiling of their goods*, and cheerfully submitted to every suffering and labour. These doctrines have been held by the most of the churches of New-England ever since the time of the first planters, they have been steadily supported by the ablest preachers and writers, till they were demonstrated by the great Edwards, and most happily illustrated by Hopkins, in his incomparable System. To give a more perfect exhibition of the doctrinal sentiments of the fathers, the following summary is presented, given us by an eminent divine of the last age, a Pastor of the parent

Church at Plymouth, now resting with his predecessors in glory. It is presented as given by him, that it may be seen what particulars received the more special attention.

“ And with regard to their *religious* principles, *these* are well known by all, who have any tolerable acquaintance with their history. It is known with what sacred zeal and unwavering perseverance, they believed, professed, taught and defended the glorious truths of God’s word—the great, fundamental doctrines of the gospel. Such as the *apostacy* and total *depravity* of human nature by sin. Man’s utter *inability* to deliver himself from that state of guilt and ruin, in which he is involved by transgression—or to satisfy the divine law—work out righteousness, or make atonement for sin. The absolute necessity of *regeneration*, by the supernatural agency of the Holy Spirit—the *sovereignty* of divine grace, in the conversion of sinners—the *true* and *proper* DEITY of the Lord JESUS CHRIST—the necessity of *faith* in Christ as the only condition of an interest in him, and in all the benefits of his purchase—the *righteousness* of Christ the only meritorious ground of our justification before God—*obedience* and *good works* as absolutely necessary, and the never failing *fruits* and evidence of a *true faith—holiness* of heart and life, “ without which no man can see the Lord.”—and the final and unfrustrable *perseverance* of true Christians in grace and holiness, to eternal life, through the *promise* and *power* of God, and the all-prevalent intercession of Jesus Christ.

“ A person must be a great stranger to the character and history of our *fathers*, who does not know *these* were their avowed sentiments and principles, as to the *doctrines* of religion.—These were truths dearer to them than their estates—yea than life itself.”*

* Anniversary Sermon of Rev. Chandler Robbins.

SECTION III.

OBJECTIONS TO THE CHARACTER OF THE NEW-ENGLAND
FATHERS CONSIDERED AND ANSWERED.

V. WE now proceed to take notice of some objections which have been made to the character and institutions of our venerable ancestors. It is well known that *humanum est errare*, *Error is the portion of humanity*; and that the Fathers of the New-England Colonies could not be exempt from the common share of human imperfection. And while the language of panegyric would draw their character without its shades, it passes to the regions of fiction, presenting an exhibition of persons that never had a being in reality. The best of men have always their errors and defects, till they arrive to that state of being where the spirits of just men are made perfect. On the other hand, the language of reproach, the language of irreligion, and of ignorance, would despoil the planters of these colonies of all their claims to the gratitude and esteem of posterity. Some of the reflections of opprobrium which have been liberally cast upon them, we will now attempt to examine.

It has been objected to the first settlers of New-England, that they made the Holy Scriptures the foundation of their civil laws. This position is true. They did adopt the laws of Moses, which are of a civil nature, together with the civil precepts which are found in other parts of the Scriptures, as the fundamental principles of their civil polity. At the request of the General Court of Massachusetts, Mr. Cotton prepared an abstract of the judicial laws of Moses, which were adopted as the fundamental laws of the colony. The body of laws which were compiled for the colony of New-Haven, by Gov. Eaton, was drawn principally from the same source. The Connecticut Colony founded their capital laws entirely upon the laws of Moses; and from the same au-

thority all their ancient laws received their complexion. Some, if not all the colonies, adopted the laws of Moses for their common law. In cases for which they had no particular statute that was applicable, the Jewish law was made the rule of procedure.

In these regulations, the early politicians of New-England acted according to the dictates of the soundest judgment. The laws of all civilized nations are founded, essentially, upon the institutions of the great lawgiver of the Hebrews. As much has been said upon this particular trait in the character of the New-England Fathers, I think it proper to point out the steps by which the civil institutions of the most refined nations have been derived from those of the Israelites. It is well known that the States of modern Europe have derived their civil laws from the laws of the Romans. The discovery of the Pandects of Justinian in the twelfth century, having, for a long period, been lost, has been declared to be a principal means of civilizing modern Europe. These were a digest of all the Roman laws. The fundamental laws of Rome, from which all others sprung, were the laws of the Twelve Tables. Of these, Cicero observed, as quoted by Bishop Watson, "This little book alone exceeds the libraries of all the philosophers, in the weight of its authority, and in the extent of its utility." The Twelve Tables were a body of laws compiled in Rome about 450 years before Christ. The Senate and people feeling the want of fixed laws, having continued from the foundation of the city, almost destitute of any that were written and permanent, three of the most illustrious Patricians were sent to Greece to make a collection of the principal laws from those States which were most distinguished for their wisdom and refinement. From this collection, was compiled the laws of the Twelve Tables. The collection made by the Roman Ambassadors was taken principally from the laws of Minos, Lycurgus, and Solon. Those eminent lawgivers obtained the principles of their legislation in their travels in Phœnicia, a term applied by other nations to the land of Ju-

dea. That is, from the laws of Moses. Thus, directly, are the civil laws of the most eminent nations of ancient and modern times, derived from the institutions of the heaven-enlightened lawgiver of Israel. Some of the tribes of Israel were a commercial people, and maintained a constant intercourse with the neighbouring countries. By this means, the religion and laws of the Hebrews became known in Egypt, in Crete, in the States of Greece, on the coasts of the Red Sea, and in the countries of the East. In this way, as well as by the labours of travellers, many of their institutions were adopted in all the surrounding nations. As Israel rose to its highest prosperity, in the reigns of David and Solomon, while the adjacent countries were in the infancy of civilization and power, they would naturally receive from them the principles of political science. The political regulations of all the most celebrated lawgivers of antiquity, contain the clearest internal evidence that they were formed on the model of the laws of Moses.

If this be a correct representation of this subject, where was the error in the early Legislators of New-England in making the civil precepts which are contained in the Scriptures, the basis of their political institutions? Would it have been more wise to have adopted the policy of European States, derived originally from the same source, after passing through all the modifications of Grecian caprice, of Roman despotism, of feudal tyranny? Those who hate divine revelation are ready to receive the most important civil institutions from Vandals and Goths, but are ashamed to acknowledge a dependence on the laws of Moses. Yet, Goths, Romans, Greeks, Saracens, and Persians, drew their most essential principles of civil government from the precepts of the Hebrew lawgiver. Zoroaster, Solon, and Mahomet, were indebted to him for their finest political maxims.

Yet it has been a matter of great surprise that our ancestors should adopt the judicial laws of Moses for their common law. Common law is necessary for every peo-

ple. No provisions of statute can reach every case that may occur for the cognizance of law. The American States, generally, adopt the laws of England for their common law. The common law of England is the Roman law. It was necessary that some standard of this kind should be adopted by the colonists of New-England. They were planting small colonies in an uncultivated wilderness, far remote from any civilized country. A great portion of the essential characteristics of the governments of Europe they intended to avoid. They were attempting the establishment of a Christian Commonwealth. The policy of no country could be very conformable to their circumstances. The laws of the Israelites were as well suited to their condition, as those of any other people. These had received the impress of divine wisdom, and they had the sanction of the most efficient success. Never did any legislator give laws to a people in a lower state, than were the tribes of Israel while journeying in the wilderness. And never did any system of government conduct a people to a higher pitch of national prosperity. And all this in that remote period of time in which they led the way in the list of empires. If success is the best evidence of the wisdom of political institutions, the laws of Moses possess the highest possible recommendation. Then, will impartial judgment pronounce censure upon our ancestors for making these the basis of their political institutions ?

No charge has been urged against the fathers of New-England with so much assurance as that of persecution. The uniform cry of infidelity and false religion in this country has ever been, Our fathers fled from their native country to avoid persecution, and having arrived in America they became persecutors themselves. Strictly speaking, this is wholly untrue. Persecution consists in depriving persons of rights, or in punishing them for the exercise of rights, to which by the laws of nature and the privileges of their birth-right they are entitled. The object of

these emigrants, in leaving their native country and attempting a new settlement in defiance of all the perils of a most forbidding wilderness, was to form a community in conformity with what they deemed the true principles of the gospel of Christ. For this purpose they chose a *vacuum domicilium*, an unoccupied portion of creation; and the only favour which they desired of their fellow-men, was, to be left unmolested. As they invaded the rights of no person living, they had every reason to claim the privilege of regulating the internal concerns of their community according to their own sense of justice and propriety. The colonial legislatures, in several instances, enacted laws against the inculcation of religious sentiments, and against religious practices, which were opposed essentially to the systems which they had adopted. As they were wishing to make a fair experiment of their own sentiments, they resolved not to admit the advocates of opposing sentiments to their community. Their laws, therefore, prohibited the settlement of persons of such a description, within the established limits of the colonies. And while all men were allowed to entertain what opinions they pleased concerning God and his revealed truth, provided they were not *publicly advocated*; those who persisted in their endeavours to inculcate what were believed to be errors, what were at least opposed to the existing order of the churches and the community, thus unsettling the public mind, and shaking the basis of general tranquillity, were required to depart from their jurisdiction. Their magistrates caused those laws to be executed, with much prudence and discretion. Mrs. Hutchinson and her adherents, by the pertinacity with which they publicly maintained their errors, destroyed the harmony and threatened the existence of the Massachusetts colony. They were required to depart from the jurisdiction. The magistrates did not question their right of opinion, but would not suffer them to *inculcate their sentiments* within the limits of the colony, to the disturbance of the public peace. The most of the

events about which the cry of persecution has been so loudly raised, consisted in transactions of this kind.

Roger Williams and his adherents were required to depart from the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. This separation did not prevent the continuance of a friendly intercourse between him and the government of the colony, which continued to the end of his life. Yet the difference of his religious sentiments from those generally received in the colony, was such that it was thought necessary for him to leave the jurisdiction. No one considers it persecution for any ecclesiastical community to exclude any individual from their connection, in consequence of a difference of sentiment. Such associations are of a voluntary nature, and essential differences of sentiment defeat the end of the connection. The companies of emigrants who commenced the New-England colonies were in circumstances not very dissimilar. Their prosperity, if not their existence, depended on their internal harmony. And that harmony depended primarily on their unity of sentiment and practice on the subject of religion. The exclusion, therefore, of an individual from the limits of a particular colony, for publicly maintaining and obstinately teaching sentiments to the disturbance of the peace, cannot justly be called persecution. A liberty of this kind had never before been promised, it was not inherited, and it could not reasonably be claimed.

The persecution, as it has been called, of the Quakers, has left a stigma upon the character of the New-England fathers, from which they cannot be entirely vindicated. A few persons of this description appeared in the Massachusetts Colony, about the year 1656. The sect arose in England, but a few years before that time. There is great reason to believe that they came to these colonies for the express purpose of violating the religious order which existed in the colonies, and for which they were chiefly distinguished. On the people who are denominated Friends, or Quakers, who now constitute a highly valuable class of citizens, and a respectable religious de-

nomination in our country, I make no reflections. I would merely remark, as necessarily required, on the conduct of a few wild enthusiasts, who assumed the name of that religious sect. Those few persons coming to the Massachusetts colony openly reviled the ministry and magistracy, denouncing them as the servants of imposture and tyranny, and threatening the severest judgments of heaven upon the people if they continued in submission to the magistrates, and did not renounce the authority of the professed ministers of Christ. In many instances, their conduct was such a violation of decency as is not fit to be mentioned. Laws were enacted to prevent them from coming to the colony, and to induce those who were in it to depart. Fines, imprisonment, flagellation, and banishment, were the appointed penalties. As these seemed to be ineffectual, and the colony continued to be greatly molested, it was enacted that any Quaker returning from banishment to renew his practices against the peace of the colony, should be punished with death. Under this law, four persons were executed. One of these was offered a reprieve, after the sentence of death was passed, on condition of leaving the colony; and another was desired by the court, after his arraignment for his last offence, to leave the country and avoid the execution of the law; but they would not comply. One other person was sentenced to die, and afterwards pardoned. Several received slight punishments, and some were confined for a time in prison, but at length were released. All who were punished suffered as disturbers of the public peace, and enemies of the government and order of the colony. Some of the other colonies enacted laws against the Quakers, but it did not appear that any rigorous measures were enforced—This is the amount of all that I find upon this subject. The laws which had been made were soon repealed, or suffered to lie unenforced. And in all cases, the magistrates manifested a reluctance to their execution. So far as capital punishments were inflicted, it is matter of regret; and however the practice of most

nations could be pleaded in vindication of our fathers, this act of severity cannot be justified by their posterity. With the exception of the capital punishments, it is doubtful whether any greater severity were used than would be practised in all well regulated governments against the disturbers of the public peace.

The unhappy subject of witchcraft, for which the character of the New-England fathers has greatly suffered, was a matter of mere popular frenzy, which at that time, prevailed more or less in all parts of the British dominions. It was the effect of a popular delusion, accidentally and highly excited, and cannot be considered as a particular feature in the character of the planters of New-England, or of their institutions. And it is greatly to be lamented that the best history of our country, which has been written,* should devote so many pages to a minute detail of this accidental occurrence.—One person was executed on a charge of witchcraft in 1648. Another person was executed in 1655. There is an obscure account that two or three other persons suffered about the same time. A few others were brought to trial and acquitted. After that, the matter rested for more than thirty years. In 1692, was the fatal tragedy at Salem, in which nineteen persons suffered death, under the accusation of witchcraft. The popular fervour soon subsided, and, in a short time, the transaction was greatly lamented and universally disapproved. It will be observed that this was more than sixty years from the first settlement of the country, when the first generation, and most of the second, were removed from the stage of human life. It is the *fathers* whom I am concerned to vindicate, and from this most lamentable instance of popular delusion they are exempt. In their day, there were but two or three instances at most, and those were more the effect of a sudden and inconsiderate zeal in the people, than from the decisions of the magistrates, or the dictates of the laws. All countries are subject to the

* Marshall's Life of Washington.

commotions of popular frenzy, and that these infant colonies, destitute of the influence of ancient usages, were so seldom disturbed with such agitations, is a matter of great admiration.

The early settlers of these colonies have been often charged with enthusiasm. This charge is certainly wholly unsupported. Enthusiasm, is defined by Dr. Johnson to be a "vain belief of private revelation ; a vain confidence of divine favour or communication." Mr. Locke observes, "Enthusiasm is founded neither on reason nor divine revelation, but rises from the conceits of a warmed or overweening brain." The enthusiast is led by internal persuasions and impulses ; in opposition to the dictates of reason, of experience, of divine truth ; and, in the prosecution of his objects, he relies on extraordinary aids from heaven, beyond the ordinary dispensations of divine providence. The religious sentiments of enthusiasm are wild and visionary, unsupported by the basis of truth. Such was not the character of the fathers of New-England. Their religious sentiments were drawn from the word of God. In doctrine, they accorded with the faith of the Church of England, and with the sentiments of the Reformed churches in general. In practice, in the rites and services of religion, they adopted the churches of the Primitive times for their model. In sentiment and practice they agreed in all essential particulars, with the Puritans in England, with the churches of Geneva and Scotland. They claimed, in these things no new discoveries, but sought for light from the faith and practice of Christian churches, of whatever name. Above all, the word of God was their only ultimate standard, understood, not by any supernatural light, but according to the dictates of common sense. Their religious sentiments and practices were briefly stated in our last Section. In these, nothing is seen which marks the enthusiast. If we may determine their sentiments from their writings, and from their confessions of faith, those were as free from enthusiasm as the sentiments of any portion of the Christian church. They had

a zeal, it is true, a zeal which was great. The formalist would stigmatize every degree of zeal as enthusiasm. But what has ever been done for the furtherance of the gospel without zeal? The zeal of our venerable ancestors was founded in truth and wisdom, it was supported by the promises and providence of God, and was consummated in the heavenly inheritance of the saints. None of their important enterprises were rashly undertaken. The enthusiast sets out in a great project, without considering the end in view, much less the means for its accomplishment. Our fathers deliberated long, secured every means in their power, provided as far as human foresight could do against contingencies, and prepared for disappointments or success. They possessed in a very eminent degree a quality, never yet found in an enthusiast,—a steadiness in conduct. An enthusiast can never conduct an enterprise with steadiness or perseverance. We need only look at the history of the New-England Fathers to see a steadiness of conduct in the most difficult and discouraging seasons, which would have done honour to Cæsar or Washington. An enthusiast is always intoxicated with success. Nothing of this kind appears in the characters we now contemplate. The success which attended the efforts of the Planters of New-England, in one of the most arduous and perilous designs ever accomplished, a work of much time and of many unavoidable discouragements, is a proof outweighing all the deductions of argument, that enthusiasm had little or no place in their character.—Some instances of enthusiastic zeal occasionally appeared among them, but it was uniformly condemned. Mrs. Hutchinson, in her notions, was influenced by a mere spirit of enthusiasm. After all reasonable efforts were made to reclaim her, she was required to leave the colony. The Quakers that first appeared in Massachusetts, were perfect enthusiasts, wholly under the guidance of impulses and supernatural impressions. We have seen that their notions were pointedly disapproved.—Enthusiasts are always given to

change. The religious sentiments of our ancestors were uniform and steady.

Another charge imputed to the memory of the New-England colonists, though totally different from the one we have been considering, is that of bigotry. Bigotry is an obstinate attachment to a particular party or set of opinions, with an abhorrence of all those of a different character. Many persons, who have not been well acquainted with the early character of these colonists, have believed the first settlers to have been greatly bigoted. This opinion is wholly unfounded. When the large company of emigrants which established the Massachusetts colony left their native country, they left an address to their brethren of the Church of England, dated at Yarmouth, the place of their embarkation, which possesses a spirit of philanthropy, of liberality, and Christian benevolence, seldom equalled. It is entitled "The humble request of his Majesty's loyal subjects, the Governor and the company late gone for New-England; to the rest of their brethren in and of the Church of England." In this, they say, "We esteem it our honour to call the Church of England, from whence we rise, our dear Mother, and cannot part from our native country, where she specially resideth, without much sadness of heart, and many tears." They say further, "You are not ignorant, that the Spirit of God stirred up the Apostle Paul to make continual mention of Philippi, (which was a colony of Rome) let the same Spirit, we beseech you, put you in mind that are the Lord's remembrancers, to pray for us without ceasing, (who are a weak colony from yourselves,) making continual requests for us to God in all your prayers."—And they promise, "so far as God shall enable us, to give him no rest on your behalf, wishing our heads and hearts may be as fountains of tears for your everlasting welfare, when we shall be in our poor cottages in the wilderness, overshadowed with the spirit of supplication, through the manifold necessities and tribulations which may not alto-

gether unexpectedly, nor, we hope, unprofitably befall us."

Mr. Robinson's farewell address to the company that formed the Plymouth colony, is a pattern of Christian liberality. In an account of the Plymouth church, Gov. Winslow mentions their "admitting to communion among them the communicants of the French, the Dutch, the Scotch churches, merely by virtue of their being so." And he observes that their members were not permitted to disown the Church of England as a church of Christ. It was an observation of Mr. Hooker, "to separate from the faithful assemblies and churches in England, as no Churches, is an error in judgment and sin in practice, held and maintained by the Brownists." An early historian of our church observes, "We dare make no difference between a Presbyterian, a Congregational, an Episcopalian, and an Anti-pædobaptist, where their visible piety makes it probable that the Lord Jesus Christ has received them." There were many shades of difference in the sentiments and practice of the respective churches in the colonies, yet a Christian fellowship and communion was constantly maintained. It is true those differences were not great, but it is well known that *bigots* are as apt to break charity upon the smallest points of difference, and will contend about them as fiercely, as those of the greatest importance.

The founders of these colonies have been greatly censured for incorporating their civil and religious institutions, for making religion and civil government mutual supports of each other, and for making a regard for religion a qualification for civil trust. Right or wrong, this procedure had the sanction of all Christian nations. From the days of Constantine the Great, 300 years after Christ, to the present time, all the governments of Europe, except the barbarous tribes who for some ages retained their paganism, and those few which have acknowledged the religion of Mahomet, have incorporated the observance of the Christian religion with their civil policy. I am fully of opinion that no person has worn a crown in the Chris-

tian countries of Europe, for fourteen centuries, who had not received Christian baptism. An acknowledgment of the faith of Christianity has been generally, an essential qualification for public trust.—No character is so much the idol of the enemies of religion as David Hume. He was indeed a man of astonishing powers of intellect. In his Essay entitled, “An Idea of a perfect commonwealth,” he recommends the establishment of Christianity by law, according to the Presbyterian form. The many striking coincidences between his theoretic commonwealth and the actual state of the New-England colonies for several generations from their first establishment, will appear surprising to any one that will make the comparison. The New-England fathers were not such visionaries as to explode systems of civil policy which had been consecrated by the wisdom of ages. They knew that all wise lawgivers of every nation had felt the necessity of calling in the aid of religion for the support of government and the welfare of civil society. They knew that no religion but that of the Scriptures was true. They could not therefore hesitate to connect this system with their civil institutions. The great objection to the New-England policy is, that they took Christianity as it is, consisting in the fear of God, and in the observance of the moral duties of life, without those corruptions of human invention with which it had long been encumbered. If revealed religion ought to be connected with civil policy at all, it ought to be received as given in the Scriptures. The design of the New-England colonists, as has often been mentioned, was to make an effort for the establishment of a Christian Commonwealth; for the enjoyment of the privileges of the gospel. This was known to be the primary object of the enterprise; and none could have engaged in the undertaking, but under this persuasion. While, therefore, a credible profession of religion was made a requisite qualification for places of public trust, and, in some of the colonies, for the right of suffrage, which proceeds upon the same principle, a voter being naturally a candidate

for office, it was in pursuance of the original design of the plantations. As the association of the emigrants was purely voluntary, and made under such an implicit condition, no natural or stipulated right was abridged. The protection of the laws was cheerfully afforded to all persons of peaceable demeanor. But the administration of the public interests was reserved in the hands of those who could cordially unite in promoting the original design of the settlements. If a company of Mahometans from Barbary were to remove to some unoccupied part of America, for the sake of preserving their religion uncorrupted, and should make a regulation that no one should be admitted to a share in the management of the public concerns without a profession of the Mussulman faith, it would not be thought that the rights of any description of men were abridged. No one would attach himself to their community but with an implicit consent to that condition. Many will question the policy of such a proceeding as that adopted by our early colonists. Whatever that may be, it does not affect the right. But with regard to the wisdom of their regulations, we can judge only from the effects. This is the only test for all human institutions. The world have before them the state of society, and the state of religion in the New-England colonies and states, for nearly two centuries. Such as they are, they are certainly the result of those systems which were established by the first planters. They have also a view of other colonies rising in other parts of our country, with equal and greater natural advantages, commenced on different principles, pursuing a different course. A decision on the comparative wisdom of the respective systems, we leave to posterity. Irreligion and vice will ever strive to destroy all institutions erected on the basis of Christianity. But when destroyed, they sigh for the safety and the privileges which these afforded.

The New-England fathers have often been charged with abusing the aborigines of the country. I can find no evidence for the support of such a charge. They treated

them as the native proprietors of the soil ; they came into possession of their country by open purchase ; they treated them with justice and integrity ; they took great pains to make them acquainted with the arts of civilized life, and with the divine religion of the only Saviour of men. In return, they generally enjoyed the confidence and the friendship of the natives.

These considerations are submitted to the judgment of candour. We mean not to vindicate our ancestors any farther than they are justly vindicable ; but believe it to be a duty to attempt to remove some of those aspersions which have been liberally cast upon those extraordinary characters, whose lives were eminently devoted to the service of God, and the best interests of men.

SECTION IV.

THE NEW-ENGLAND FATHERS VERY EMINENT MEN....FROM
THEM ARE DERIVED THE MOST VALUBLE PRIVILEGES EN-
JOYED BY OUR COUNTRY....THE PEOPLE OF NEW-ENGLAND
INHERIT THE EXAMPLE OF THEIR FATHERS : A GREAT
BLESSING ; IMPOSING MANY OBLIGATIONS....CONCLUSION.

VI. In a review of what has been offered in the preceding pages, it is natural to remark that the leading characters in the settlement of the New-England colonies were great and eminent men, raised up by the special providence of God, for the performance of this important work. It has been usual to contemplate the founders of these colonies as good men, honestly engaged in promoting the interests of the religion of Christ. But the character of greatness, so liberally applied to the scourgers and destroyers of the human race,—from these illustrious philanthropists, has been generally withheld. Among the ancients, the leaders of infant colonies were ranked with the greatest heroes. The establishment of the Trojan

Prince in Italy, with his small wandering band, was deemed by the most perfect of poets, the fittest subject for his inimitable poem. We have no doubt that posterity will do justice to the memory of our venerable ancestors ; and it is incumbent on us to seek such a knowledge of their characters as that we may not be wholly insensible to their distinguished merits.

The great care of planting and rearing these colonies depended, principally, on a few individuals. On these, the great majority of the settlers depended : they confided in their wisdom ; they relied on them for protection and support. And these, by their incorruptible integrity, by their zeal for the common welfare, always retained the confidence merited by their virtues. This general confidence produced a government of influence, which enabled those venerable chiefs to devise and mature their incomparable system of civil and religious polity. The great difficulty with all legislators is to obtain a fair experiment for their respective institutions. As some form of government is necessary in every stage of human society, to restrain the lawless and corrupt, and as change is always attended with difficulty and hazard, it is almost impossible to obtain a fair trial of any political theory. And this is a great cause why the best legislators have been to so great a degree unsuccessful. In the infancy of the New-England colonies, the most of their public institutions were objects of experiment. Yet such was the influence of the leading characters, and such the confidence reposed in them, that the public tranquillity could be maintained without the aid of ancient authorities ; and all their institutions were received with candour, and an expectation of their salutary effects.

The principal characters, among the first planters of New-England, were men of finished education, and accomplished scholars. They had been led in the paths of literature from their infancy, enjoying all the advantages which could be derived from the best literary establishments, encouraged by parents and friends possessing the disposi-

tion and ability to give them every needful assistance. At the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, they held a conspicuous rank among their cotemporaries, and several of them, by continuing at the seat of the muses after the expiration of the ordinary academic course, attained to an eminence in science, which gave them a rank among the first scholars of their time. Some of them were much distinguished as authors, and many of their works may still be read with great profit and delight. The sufferings they endured from ecclesiastical persecution, and the innumerable cares which devolved upon them in the establishment of the infant colonies, were a great obstruction to their literary pursuits : yet their attainments were such as would have procured the first honours for one always enjoying the peaceful labours of a university. In the first rank of scholars we place Eaton, Cotton, Hooker, and Davenport ; and, not far distant, Winthrop, Bradford, Prince, Hopkins, Haynes, Johnson, Wilson, Brewster, Shepard, Stone, Elliot, with a number of others, that might be deservedly added, who would have held an honourable station among the literati of their native country, in any period since the revival of letters. And it is highly questionable whether their descendants in any one age have been able to furnish an equal number of scholars, equally eminent for their attainments in universal science. Dr. Owen, the celebrated vice-chancellor of Cambridge, stands to this day among the first divines that have adorned the British nation. He was cotemporary with the fathers of New-England, and determined to remove to America with them, but was providentially prevented. He was not superior as a divine or a scholar to some of his friends who emigrated from their native country ; but after their separation, he remained in the enjoyment of all literary privileges, while they were toiling in the laborious service of him that dwelt in the bush. Several others might be mentioned, if necessary, of the most distinguished authors of that day, in Great Britain, who were intimate friends, and no more than equals in science, with several of the

emigrants to America.—Notwithstanding the expense and difficulty of transporting heavy and bulky articles, the first settlers brought with them a number of large and very valuable libraries.—Such was their attachment to literary pursuits, that they could not abandon them, though encumbered with all the cares of rearing an infant state. The library of Mr. Hooker was appraised after his decease at 300 pounds sterling. That, at the present time, would be about 4000 dollars. It may here be added, that the most of these libraries, by the unaccountable negligence and indiscretion of their descendants, are now irrecoverably lost.

That the Fathers of New-England were able statesmen, and divines, thoroughly skilled in the knowledge of the human character, and in the history of man, we need no further evidence than the nature of their institutions, and the success with which these have been attended. They were, eminently, practical men. One of the most difficult duties in the business of a lawgiver, is to suppress the inclination of his own mind to the adoption of speculative theories. In the case before us, little or nothing of this kind seems to have been indulged, while the word of God, and principles consecrated by the experience of ages, were made the basis of their civil and ecclesiastical constitutions.—As they loved learning, and knew its value, the principles of education constituted a leading feature in all their public institutions. And in consequence of the regulations by them established, it has always been characteristic of New England that a greater portion of useful knowledge has been enjoyed by all classes of society, than by any other people. The ancient literary foundations of opulent countries may produce individuals more highly distinguished in science, than any that are found among us; but in no country do the yeomanry enjoy such advantages for education, and, in none, do they arrive at such attainments in useful knowledge.

Many of the New-England fathers were opulent. Without the possession of great estates, they could never have

borne the heavy expenses, which were necessarily incurred in the establishment of the colonies. Gov. Winthrop possessed a landed interest in England, exclusive of personal property, producing an annual income of more than six hundred pounds. This was converted into money and brought to this country. Gov. Haynes possessed a landed estate in Essex, worth a thousand pounds a year. I do not find how great a portion of this was brought to America; the whole of it was not, but I conclude there was more than one half. Gov. Eaton and Gov. Hopkins, who had been merchants in London for a number of years, and very prosperous in trade, brought the most of their property with them, which appears to have been as great, and I think, greater than that of those just mentioned. Mr. Johnson, who died at Boston a few months after his arrival, is said to have been the most wealthy of all the original planters. He directed in his will that his funeral charges should not exceed 250 pounds. But a small part of this was actually expended. The inventory of Mr. Hooker's property amounted to 1336 pounds, fifteen shillings. This was undoubtedly, much less than what he possessed at the time of his arrival in the country. Mr. Cotton's property, from the account of his life, I think, must have been greater than that of Mr. Hooker's. The greater part of the leading characters in the colonies, at the time of their removal from their native country, were men of wealth. To form correct ideas of the sums which have been specified, it is necessary to consider the difference in the value of money at that and the present time, according to its nominal account. Dr. Johnson, in his life of the poet Waller, who was born in 1605, and of course cotemporary with the planters of New-England, observes, "His father died while he was yet an infant, but left him a yearly income of three thousand five hundred pounds; which rating together the value of money and the customs of life, we may reckon more than equivalent to ten thousand at the present time." Dr. Johnson wrote about fifty years ago; since which time, this differ-

ence has much increased. To rate the value of money, at the time of the settlement of New-England, three times higher than at the present time, is a low estimate.

VII. To the early colonists of New-England, our country is indebted for a great portion of their most valuable privileges. We have observed, that, if these English colonists had not taken possession of the American wilderness at the time when they commenced their settlement, the country must have fallen into the hands of the French or the Dutch, from whom must have arisen a totally different state of society, and a set of civil and religious institutions wholly different from those which we now enjoy. The first settlers of these colonies were entirely from England, and while they fled from the oppression of ecclesiastical intolerance, they knew the privileges of their native country, they had too just an estimation of their value to part with any of them which could be retained. These, they endeavoured to incorporate in their public regulations, so far as they could be consistent with such a state of society as they sought to establish.

The existence of all the North American colonies depended, in a great degree, on the perseverance of the planters of New-England. For more than forty years previous to the settlement of Plymouth, constant attempts had been making for the establishment of colonies in North America. After many unsuccessful efforts, a small settlement was commenced in Virginia in 1607. This was supported by means of constant supplies sent by the proprietors from the parent country. In 1610, the few that remained of the colony broke up in discouragement, and sailed for Europe. They were met, however, with large supplies, and were persuaded to return. But notwithstanding the unremitted exertions of the patrons of the settlement, it continued in a weak state; the hostility of the savages, the sickness of the settlers, and the unavoidable difficulties of commencing a settlement in a wilderness, discouraged the colonists: while the great

expense and the small prospect of any return of profit produced an equal discouragement in the minds of the proprietors of the colony, who had engaged in this undertaking with high expectations of gain. At the time the settlements commenced in the north, the continuance of this southern colony appeared highly problematical, and an impartial observer would have been as likely to conclude it would soon expire, as that it would be maintained. The settlement at the mouth of the Hudson River, having existed about six years, was very small and weak, and their continuance must have appeared very doubtful. But when those settlements saw the firmer stand which was made by the colonists of New-England, unsupported by any foreign assistance, fixing a seat, not for gain but for God, unappalled by any dangers that might appear, they were compelled to renounce their hesitating calculations, and resolve to abide in the wilderness. In these sentiments, we are sufficiently supported by the testimony of Judge Marshall. Having given the history of Virginia for more than forty years, he observes,* "We have seen with what slow and difficult steps the first or southern colony, although supported by individuals of great wealth and influence in the nation, advanced to a firm and secure establishment." And a little after, having noticed some of the ineffectual efforts of the company existing in England called the Plymouth Company, "The languishing company of Plymouth could not be stimulated to engage in further schemes of colonization, the advantages of which were distant and uncertain, while the expense was immediate and inevitable. To accident, and to a stronger motive than even interest, a motive found to be among the most powerful which can influence the human mind, is New-England indebted for its first settlement." He then gives an account of the settlement of these colonies for the purposes of religion.—The New-England colonies having made a firm stand, and being careful to open a commercial

* Life of Washington, Introduction, Chap. III.

intercourse with every settlement established on the North American coast, whereby the great difficulty of procuring supplies was removed, others were induced to attempt the establishment of colonies, and to pursue their design with perseverance. No characteristic of our venerable ancestors is more prominent than constancy. One of Gov. Eaton's family observed to him after a severe affliction, "Let us even go back to our native country." He replied, "You may, but I shall die here." Under difficulties, their firmness increased; they confided in the rectitude of their cause, in the wisdom of Providence, and in the protection of heaven. Such a characteristic stedfastness naturally inspired the neighbouring settlements with something of a corresponding spirit, which carried the American colonies through all the difficulties which they were called to surmount.

Mr. Hume describes the Puritans as the uniform and persevering advocates of civil liberty. In the reign of Elizabeth, he observes, "The principles of civil liberty, which, during some reigns, had been little avowed in the nation, and which were totally incompatible with the present exorbitant prerogative, had been strongly adopted by this new sect." With such a strong attachment to the principles of civil liberty, and with more just conceptions of its true nature than we should suppose would have existed at that day, the Puritans laid the foundation of the colonies of New-England. They considered civil liberty to be that state of society in which the individual can enjoy the greatest degree of personal rights, protection, and safety. These principles were the foundation of all their political regulations, and they became ingrafted in all their institutions. They had long suffered under the arm of arbitrary power, and their sufferings could not be forgotten. But why they did not pass to the other extreme; why they did not, like the uniform conduct of human nature in such cases, throw aside all efficient government, is indeed too much to be ascribed to their wisdom; it must be placed to the special mercy and care of heaven.—

While every privilege was left to the citizen, which can be enjoyed in civil society, the rights of government were asserted, and the energy of the laws was maintained. No civil community enjoyed at that time a government, which was in all its branches elective, or which retained in the hands of the people all the power of electing their rulers. The colonies which were settled at the southward, as their supporters were of different religious sentiments from the Puritans; so their ideas of civil government were not more conformable to theirs. Thus the governments there established were proprietary or crown governments, in which, though a part of the legislature might be elective, the principal authority resided in officers appointed by the king, or by a corporation deriving their powers from the same source. The New-England colonies risked the novel and interesting experiment, an experiment which no preceding legislator had dared to hazard of casting all power into the hands of the people, to be exercised in frequent elections, and to remain with them. The only limitation existing, if it could be so called, was the right of suffrage, in which a deficiency of personal character was the principal cause of exclusion. The successful result, which attended this memorable event in the history of civil society, induced the other colonies, in the progress of time, to give something of the same character to their civil constitutions. The union of the New-England colonies, in 1643, for the purpose of mutual protection and safety, in which the objects of common concern were entrusted to the decision of Commissioners deputed from the respective colonies, and which was productive of great benefit, appears to have been the true foundation of that general confederation of the colonies, which carried us through the war of our independence, and of our present happy constitution.

Most nations have found it necessary to enforce the observance of religion by the penalties of civil law. The natural character of man being such as that *they do not like to retain God in their knowledge*, and are disinclined

to the performance of the duties of religion, the requirements of civil authority have been thought necessary to enforce their observance. Thus all Christian nations have had their religion established by law. In this country, this has never been the case. To the institutions of the fathers of New-England we are indebted for an argument against the necessity of such an establishment, and, in a great degree at least, for that measure of obedience to the precepts of Christianity which prevails among us. Though they had not an ecclesiastical establishment, they incorporated so many of their institutions with the interests of religion, and connected the observance of sacred ordinances in such a great degree with public manners, enforcing such observance by an effectual example, that these could hardly be neglected, while their existing state of society should continue. And the general observance of the ordinances of Christianity will not be discontinued among us, but with the gradual demolition of that heaven-illuminated fabric of civil society reared by our fathers. Thus, without the inconveniences of an ecclesiastical establishment, we have hitherto enjoyed the benefits which such establishments are designed to afford.

The system of common school education, established in New-England, is exclusively our own. In all other countries, this depends on the parents and guardians of children. Here, it depends on the public. All are required to contribute for this common benefit ; of course, the privilege is accessible to all. And this is the true reason why the poor enjoy the essential rudiments of education, and why they generally possess the Bible. The sacred volume will generally be possessed in proportion to the ability to understand its contents. Our system of education embraces the first principles of religious instruction. If the knowledge of God and eternal life ought ever to be learned, they ought to be learned in early life. If children and youth should be taught the moral duties of life, they ought to be taught from the only perfect standard, the word of God. By blending religious

and literary instruction in the education of children, the essential principles of moral truth become so ingrafted in the mind, that they can never be wholly eradicated. These peculiarities in our system of education are derived from the establishments of the first planters of the country.

VIII. The people of New-England inherit, in the example of their fathers, a legacy of incalculable value. Their example presents some of the most interesting traits that are found in the whole history of the human character, and teaches the most important truths. The great difficulty with the precepts of philosophy has always been, that they have not been enforced by example. Pagans, in heathen and in Christian countries, may declaim with great eloquence on the amiableness of virtue, but they cannot deny ungodliness. They may adduce the noblest arguments in favour of temperance and benevolence, but they cannot be *meek and lowly in heart*. They will collect the finest sayings of all the uninspired wisdom of antiquity, but are not found to *do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with God*. It is in the faithful followers of Christ, and in them only, that we can ever find examples of consistent morality, and uniformity in the practice of virtue.

In the character of the fathers of New-England, the leading principle is the service of God. This appears to have been their primary object, in their deliberations and in their conduct. For this purpose they projected a removal from their own country. Like all men, they loved the land of their nativity; the place of their fathers' habitations held an immoveable seat in their affections. The love of country is a natural affection, it is a virtuous affection, and is more or less strong in proportion to the purity or corruption of the heart. The language of the good man is, "With all thy faults, I love thee still, my country." The testimony of the great Apostle is, *My heart's desire and prayer to God for Israel is, that they*

might be saved. This was not merely on account of the covenant standing of Israel, but also, because they were his people. The emigrants to New-England felt as strong an attachment to the land of their fathers as any other people. But they viewed themselves called to renounce it for the service of God. They believed they could not serve him agreeably to his own appointments, in their native country, it must therefore be parted with for his sake. They believed they could do more for the cause of the Redeemer in the western wilderness than in their own land, and were therefore called to go. The same object, which induced them to leave their own country and seek another, the service of God, continued to engage their constant pursuit to the end of their days. To this end, all their designs, all their labours and sufferings, were steadily directed. In the pursuit of this object, the divine word was their only rule. They viewed the Scriptures as designed for a rule of human life, in all the variety of its circumstances, and that a conformity to the precepts there contained, was the most valuable and effectual manner of serving the Lord. Thus, as the kingdom of Christ on earth is uniformly represented in the word of God, as the great object of all his providential dispensations, the object by which he is to be eminently glorified, and which will issue in the highest happiness of creatures; it was the object of their warmest affections, of their highest hopes, of their uninterrupted exertions. That virtue which consists in inaction, in not resisting the divine will, in an unfeeling indifference to the events of providence; which says "that a cheerful and contented mind is the best sort of thanks to heaven that we can pay;" is essentially defective. God has so constituted his kingdom on earth that he can employ, and designs to employ, all the friends of the Redeemer in its service. Their exertions, even those of the weakest of his servants, are essential to its advancement; and, in proportion to their fidelity and zeal, will be its prosperity. Thus, our venerable ancestors ever acted under the persuasion that the holy Head of

the Church would accept of their humble exertions in the service of his kingdom, and cause them to be attended with an important success. They laboured with steady fidelity, and with unwearied exertions, to promote the interests of true religion among men; to produce the greatest facility and inducement for the general improvement of the appointed means of grace; to extend the blessings of gospel instruction to the destitute, and the knowledge of our divine salvation to those who had never heard of a Redeemer. Even these objects did not limit their exertions. Their care extended to unborn posterity. For this purpose they made great efforts to fix such establishments, as that succeeding generations might enjoy all the privileges of the gospel in their purest form, and that they might be induced to add their own efforts for the prosperity of Zion. They sought to guard against the introduction of error at every avenue, and to preserve their offspring from every deviation from the ways of righteousness and truth.—The service of God, in promoting the interests of the religion of Christ Jesus, our ancestors connected with all the concerns of life. Religion, with them, was not the business of an occasion, it was not the business of the closet or of the Sabbath, but they made it the great business of their lives. Knowing that the service of God is not inconsistent with any of the duties which we owe to our fellow men or to ourselves; but that it affords constant assistance in the performance of all these, they connected the acknowledgment of God, and the observance of the services of religion, with all their employments and pursuits. This practice is often censured by the wicked, with the plausible pretext that it tends to produce religious formality; but it is certainly in conformity with that divine precept, *Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you.* And it seems like the dawn of that day when HOLINESS TO THE LORD shall be inscribed on all the possessions and employments of men.—While thus primarily devoted to the service of the Lord, not making

wordly possessions and distinctions; but the glory of their Redeemer, their great object of pursuit, the Lord blessed the labour of their hands, and gave them great temporal prosperity and increase. Their charities to the poor, their liberality for objects of public utility, and for the support and propagation of the gospel of Christ, were such as would now appear incredible; yet their experience taught them that this was lending to the Lord, to receive a rich abundance in return.

IX. Having contemplated the character of our venerable Fathers; having protracted this subject to a very unexpected length; having seen the example thus left for our attentive consideration; we reflect for a moment on some of the obligations and duties which devolve upon us, their posterity. May we not with reverence, adopt the triumphant language of the animated Apostle, *Wherefore, seeing we also are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset us, and let us run with patience the race that is set before us, looking unto Jesus the author and finisher of our faith; who for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God.* Our fathers endured every suffering, they disregarded every reproach, for they constantly looked to their Saviour; they laboured in the service of his holy cause, having a steady *respect unto the recompence of the reward.* As the reward to which Moses had respect, when he parted with all the treasures of Egypt, by refusing to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter, was the glory of God in the redemption of Israel; so the reward to which these faithful servants of Christ had respect, was the glory of their Redeemer in the establishment and prosperity of his American Church.

How great are the obligations which rest upon their children, to follow their steps! God has given us these inestimable privileges; the result of their labours and prayers, and the benefit of their great example. His holy

Providence has preserved for us those sacred institutions, which were reared by their hands, and cemented by a sacrifice of almost all that is dear in human life. These will never be taken from us, but in consequence of our ingratitude and iniquities. But are there not some painful indications that they are now passing away? If the sacred fabric be demolished, our social and public happiness will be buried in its ruins. It is incumbent on every individual, of every order of society, to endeavour to cleave to the old paths, and use every exertion to prevent all innovation on the institutions and usages which we have received from our forefathers. The sacred observance of the holy Sabbath, the religious education of children, and the religious character of persons called to places of public trust, were the fundamental principles of their character. If these be disregarded, the precious privileges, which their descendants have so long enjoyed will soon be lost,—lost without a remedy. If this be the case, on ourselves will be the ruin, while our faithful progenitors will have an Advocate on high to plead their acquittal at the throne of his Father.

The Churches of New-England are solemnly called upon by the memory of their founders, to stand for Christ and his cause, to contend earnestly for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints. The pious fathers of these churches risked the dangers of the ocean, and the perils of the wilderness, for the establishment of pure churches of Christ; pure in doctrine, in discipline, in practice. This they effected, in as great a degree as was ever done by uninspired men: If we have departed from their foundation, we must return, if we would expect the divine blessing. *Thus saith the Lord, Stand ye in the old ways and see, and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest.* They maintained inviolably the great doctrines of the grace of God; they were very careful in the qualifications of those who were admitted to the Christian covenant; and they administered the discipline of Christ's house with fidelity,

towards those whose characters did not comport with the high obligations of their profession.—They laboured and prayed abundantly for the spread of the gospel, and the prosperity of Zion. They conveyed the means of grace to the poor and destitute, and to the perishing heathen on their borders they communicated the words of eternal life. In the fourth Section of the second Chapter, we gave a sketch of the exertions which were made by the New-England planters to teach the pagan savages the religion of Christ, and of the pleasing success with which their efforts were attended. No evidence has appeared at any subsequent period, that can render attempts to bring the heathen of North America to embrace Christianity, more difficult or more hopeless, than the heathen of any other countries. The fathers of New-England acted upon principles, practicable and judicious. They laboured to bring the heathen of this country to the knowledge of Christ, and directed their principal attention to those who were most contiguous to themselves. They endeavoured, in these attempts, to imitate the conduct of the Apostles, all of whom spent the greater part, and the most of them the whole, of their lives, in the land of Judea and the countries immediately adjacent. They sought not distant countries, in foreign climes, to teach the gospel of salvation, while there were multitudes in their own vicinity destitute of the bread of life. If, in this respect, we depart from their example, we have little reason to expect the divine blessing. A great object for which they planted this wilderness was to extend the church of Christ among the aborigines of the country. And they virtually covenanted with God, if he would give them a quiet habitation, removing the hapless savages from these fruitful fields, they and their posterity would seek to glorify their Saviour by extending the knowledge of his gospel, and to compensate the natives thus removed for their sakes, with the knowledge of *a better country*, freely provided by Him who hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the

face of the earth. That pledge still remains, and is still to be redeemed.

Our *fathers, where are they?* A lineal descendant from one of the first planters, I contemplate four generations of progenitors, removed to the great congregation. Soon shall we join the countless throng. Soon shall we close our eyes, to sleep through the period of the church's prosperity, to be awaked at the morning of our Lord's appearing. Oh that, through infinite grace, we may then arise with our fathers, who lived and died in the faith of Jesus, and join with them and the holy throng of prophets, apostles, and martyrs, in praises that never can end. *Unto him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood, to him be glory and dominion for ever and ever....Amen.*

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

A. D.

1. Birth of JESUS CHRIST.

The Temple of Janus, in Rome, shut, in token of universal peace.

2. Some commotions in Germany, the first war after the birth of the Prince of Peace.
12. Christ disputes with the Doctors in the temple.
14. Augustus Cæsar dies, having reigned as Emperor of Rome, 44 years. He is succeeded by Tiberius.
26. John the Baptist begins his public ministry.
29. Christ is baptized by John in Jordan.
He is tempted in the wilderness.
He calls Andrew and Peter, his first disciples.
33. Christ is crucified.
He rises from the dead.
The Apostles are inspired by the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost. Great numbers converted to the Christian faith.
34. A persecution, in which Stephen, the first martyr for Christ, is stoned to death.
35. Saul of Tarsus converted, and called to be an Apostle.
41. St. Matthew writes his gospel.
44. A persecution. James is put to death, and Peter imprisoned by Herod.
45. St. Mark writes his Gospel.
52. St. Paul writes the first Epistle to the Thessalonians, the first of the sacred Epistles.
56. St. Luke writes his Gospel.
64. Nero, the first persecuting Emperor, raised a great persecution of the Christians.
68. Peter and Paul suffered martyrdom at Rome, near the close of Nero's reign.
70. Jerusalem is destroyed by Titus, son of the Emperor Vespasian, after the most terrible siege recorded in history. An incredible number of Jews perish.
95. The Christians severely persecuted by the Emperor Domitian. St. John banished to the Isle of Patmos.

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96. St. John receives and writes the Revelation.
98. St. John returned from banishment, writes his Gospel at Ephesus.
100. St. John, the last of the Apostles, dies.
107. Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, by order of the Emperor Trajan, thrown to wild beasts and devoured.
139. Justin Martyr presents his first Apology for Christianity to Antoninus Pius; who mitigates the penal laws in favour of the Christians.
258. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, suffered martyrdom under the Emperor Valerian.
303. The Diocletian persecution, the last heathen persecution, and the severest ever endured by Christians, continued eight years.
324. The Roman Empire becomes Christian by the profession and laws of Constantine the Great.
325. The Arian Heresy which had existed a few years, is condemned by the great Council of Nice.
476. End of the western Roman Empire, 1229 years from the building of the city. Many Pagan countries embraced Christianity in the fifth century.
558. A plague broke out in Constantinople, which raged very extensively in Europe and Asia.
606. The Roman Pontiff declared Universal Bishop, by the Emperor Phocas.
612. Rise of Mahometanism.
756. By the grant of a large domain to the Roman Pontiff, from Pepin King of France, he becomes a temporal Prince.
800. Charlemagne is crowned at Rome, Emperor of the West; and greatly enlarges the dominions of the Pope.
850. The Bulgarians were converted to Christianity by Methodius and others, who translated the Bible into their language.
871. Alfred the Great came to the throne of England and established the English Monarchy. He translated the Psalter into Saxon, the common language of his subjects.

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912. Rollo, the first Duke of Normandy, with his whole army, embraced Christianity.
987. Christianity was established in Russia, by the conversion of Wlodomir, the sovereign of the country.
1017. The Paulicians, advocates of true religion, established in France.
1050. Benenger, a great advocate of divine truth, particularly, against the doctrine of transubstantiation.
1066. England conquered by William the Norman.
1096. The first Crusade.
1180. Rise of the Waldenses, great witnesses for truth. They translate and circulate the Scriptures.
1206. Commencement of the Inquisition.
1209. A formidable army led against the Waldenses, to destroy them as heretics.
1220. Rise of the Mendicant order of Dominicans.
1223. Rise of the Franciscans.
1307. Christianity propagated in China. The Scriptures translated into the Chinese language.
1360. John Wickliff appears in England, a bold advocate for true religion.
1414. The great Council of Constance.
1415. John Huss burnt by their order, and Jerome of Prague the year following; two faithful witnesses for divine truth.
1492. America discovered by Columbus.
1517. Commencement of the Reformation by Martin Luther.
1536. The Reformation established in England.
1555. Rise of the Puritans.
1566. The Puritans separate from the Church of England.
1603. James I. ascends the throne of England.
1607. The Rev. John Robinson and his congregation remove to Holland. Virginia settled.
1608. The settlement of Canada commenced at Quebec.
1614. The settlement of New-York.
1620. The settlement of Plymouth, the oldest town in New-England.

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1623. A few persons began a settlement at Portsmouth, in New-Hampshire.
1623. The settlement of Massachusetts was begun at Salem, by Gov. Endicot.
1630. Some small settlements commenced in the District of Maine.
1635. Settlement of Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield, on Connecticut River.
1636. The settlement of Providence, by Roger Williams.
1637. The Pequod War. A general Synod, held at Cambridge, condemned the Antinomian errors.
1638. The settlement of New-Haven.
1643. Union of the four New-England Colonies.
1648. A general Synod at Cambridge adopted the Westminster Confession of Faith, and formed a system of Church government, denominated Cambridge Platform.
1662. A third general Synod was held at Boston.
1675. King Philip's War.
1679. A general Synod held at Boston, adopted the Savoy Confession of Faith, for the Churches, instead of that of Westminster. The difference of the two is unessential.
1608. A Convention of Ministers and Delegates appointed by the Association of Connecticut, assembled at Saybrook, adopted the Savoy Confession of Faith, and prepared an Ecclesiastical Constitution for the Churches, called Saybrook Platform.
1724. A small settlement commenced in Brattleborough, in the state of Vermont.
1741. A great Revival of religion in many parts of New-England.
1776. Thirteen British Colonies become independent states, 169 years from the settlement of Virginia, and 156 years from the settlement of Plymouth.

THE END.







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